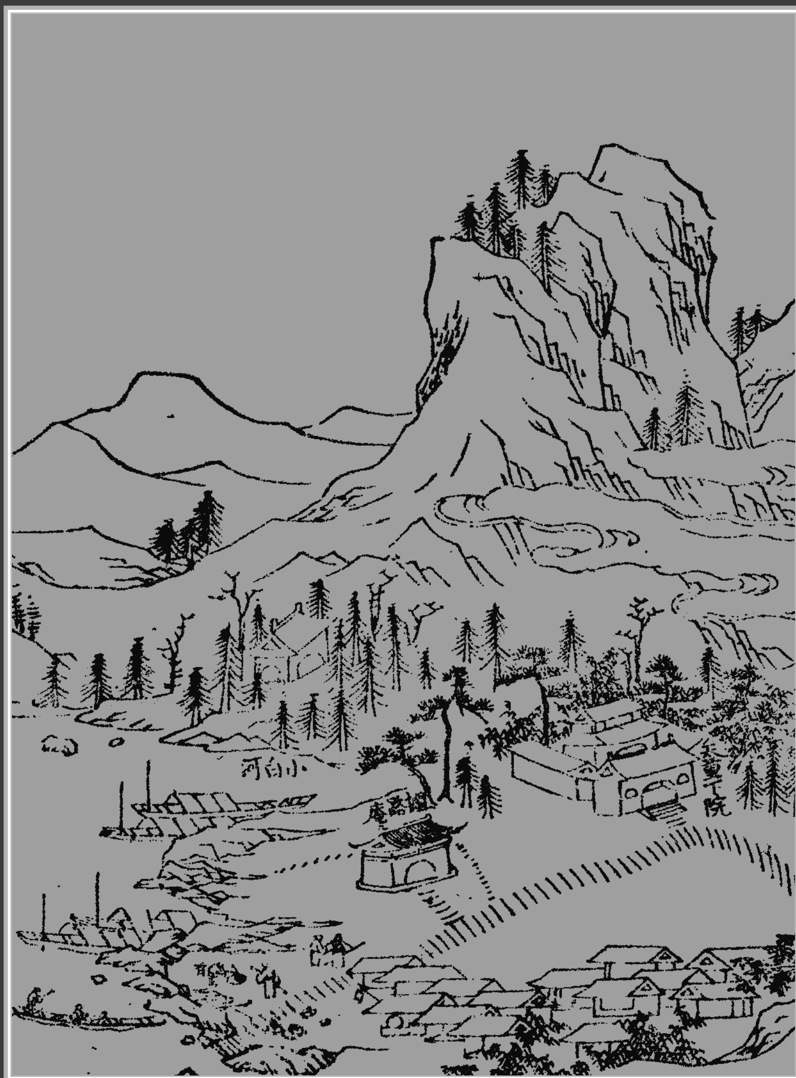
HOW ZEN BECAME ZEN

THE DISPUTE OVER ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE FORMATION OF CHAN BUDDHISM IN SONG-DYNASTY CHINA

Morten Schlütter



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Conventions

Names of Chinese Monastics

Song-dynasty Chinese monks and nuns were given two-character dharma (or tonsure) names when they took tonsure, which essentially replaced their given and family names (for more on this, see chapter 3). Most monastics were known throughout their lives by their dharma names; however, sources commonly identify monks or nuns with only the last of the two characters in these names, and sometimes it is the only one known to posterity.

When a monastic became the abbot of a monastery, the name of the monastery or its location was added in front of his dharma name in referring to him. Frequently, a Chan master, especially if he was famous, would be referred to just by the name of his location. Dongshan Liangjie, for example, is often referred to as Dongshan, the mountain where his monastery was, although "Liangjie," his dharma name, would be a more precise reference. Since most Chan masters were abbots at a number of different monasteries in succession, how they were referred to would also change. However, once a monk had passed away, his name would be more or less fixed to the name of the monastery with which he was most strongly associated, whether that was where he had resided the longest or the most prestigious of the monasteries where he served. Masters who were bestowed an honorific name by the court, often posthumously, would normally be known under those names rather than by the names of monasteries with which they were associated. Dahui Zonggao, who is best known by his honorific "Dahui," is such an example. ("Zonggao" is his dharma name.) Furthermore, elite monks would often be given sobriquets by members of the educated elite that they sometimes became known by; thus, Dahui was given the name "Miaoxi" by the famous statesman Zhang Shangying, a name that was often used by both Dahui and others. The sources are not consistent, and one master may be found referred to with a number of different names. In this book, I try to more or less consistently use dharma names, except in cases where a monastic is well known under another name.

Names of Secular Persons

Chinese names consist of a family name and a given name, in that order. The family name is usually only one character. Literati are often known by

various sobriquets, but in this book I use their given names. In the case of the famous poet and statesman commonly known as Su Dongpo (Mr. Su of the Eastern Slope), for example, I use Su Shi.

Song-dynasty emperors are usually identified by their posthumous titles, a custom I have followed in this book.

Citation of Sources

Throughout the book, I cite primary sources using their original titles. When a primary source is first cited, however, I have also added an English translation of its title. These translations are included in the bibliography, along with the Chinese characters for all titles mentioned in the book. Minor texts found in larger collections and lost texts are not included in the bibliography, but Chinese characters for them can be found in the glossary, together with English translations of their titles. I refer to frequently cited primary sources by abbreviated titles given at their first occurrence in the text; a list of abbreviated titles can be found in the notes.

How Zen Became Zen

Introduction

This book is about a set of crucial developments that took place within Chinese Buddhism in the Song dynasty (960–1279) that had a defining impact on the evolution of Zen Buddhism in all of East Asia and that came to permanently shape conceptions about the nature of Zen and the issues it is concerned with. It is entitled *How Zen Became Zen,* because although Zen (in Chinese pronounced "Chan") existed earlier, it was not until this period that it fully developed the characteristics that we now associate with it.[1]

By the Song dynasty, Chinese Buddhism was already ancient. Having arrived in China more than eight centuries earlier, Buddhism had become thoroughly domesticated: Buddhist monasteries and pagodas had become integral features of the landscape all over the Chinese heartland, and monks and nuns were part of the street scene in all of the bustling towns and cities that emerged in the Song.[2] Just as the Song dynasty in many ways ushered in a new age that was fundamentally different from what had come before, however, the Buddhism that developed in the Song was also significantly different from the Buddhism that had characterized the Tang (618–907) and earlier periods.

Two developments in Song Buddhism are especially well known. The first is the growth of Chan Buddhism, which became the dominant form of elite monastic Buddhism in the Song. The other is the sectarian dispute that took place between the Linji and Caodong traditions of Chan in the twelfth century, involving competing approaches to enlightenment and practice known as "silent illumination" (*mozhao*) and *kanhua* Chan (literally, Chan of observing the word). Neither of these developments is wholly understood, and the questions of why the Chan school prospered under the Song and why a sectarian schism in Chan happened when it did have not been fully addressed by scholars. In this book, I argue that we cannot understand the second development if we do not understand the first, and that to do either, we must place both developments in the context of a complex web of secular political, social, and economic forces. Together with internal dynamics within Chan, the impact of these forces gave rise to the Chan school as we now know it, with its distinct institution, ideology, and literature.

In the Song, the majority of the great monasteries of the realm came to

be designated as Chan monasteries, and they became centers of learning and culture where sometimes as many as several thousand monks would be enrolled, high-ranking officials would visit, and well-known poets and philosophers would gather. Famous Chan monasteries themselves were seen as sources of great and positive power; the presence of such a monastery could make evil spirits go away, bring prosperity to an area, and even improve the climate.[3] The elite Chan clergy who were in charge of the grand monasteries were famous monastics of illustrious lineages who carried with them an enormous charisma and who were recognized as a kind of living Buddhas. Such Buddhist masters were considered to be national treasures who generated significant supernatural benefits for the empire and for the local communities in which they dwelled. The Song Chan school also produced distinct forms of religious literature that became highly valued and widely read by the secular educated elite, and Chan philosophy and rhetoric deeply influenced the intellectual climate and had a substantial impact on developments in Song-dynasty Confucianism.

The beginnings of Chan Buddhism can be traced back to the early Tang, but only in the Song did Chan become the dominant form of elite monastic Buddhism. Although it has long been noted by scholars that Chan Buddhism was highly successful in the Song, there is still a widespread perception that Chan, together with all of Chinese Buddhism, lost its true spirit after the Tang dynasty and that Chan in particular had its "golden age" in the eighth and ninth centuries, surviving in later ages only on wistful memories of the great masters of the past. In this view, syncretism became the prevailing trend after the Tang, rote scripture learning and mimicking of the earlier masters came to be valued, and Buddhism was infused with popular beliefs and practices. At the same time, the story goes, monks became involved with politics and began to pander to powerful patrons.[4] This perceived decline seemed to make Song Buddhism unworthy of serious study.[5] Recent research on Song-dynasty Buddhism carried out in Japan as well as the West reveals a very different picture, however. It is now becoming accepted that Chan and other traditions of Buddhism showed great vitality throughout the Song and that developments in Buddhist doctrine, practice, and monastic organization in the Song all had a lasting impact on the entire landscape of Chinese Buddhism.[6] Furthermore, scholars have become increasingly aware that very little material from the "golden age" of Tang Chan has come down to us directly; almost all that is known about the famous Tang Chan masters and their teachings is found in texts that date to the Song and later. I believe they must therefore be seen as an expression of the needs and interests of the Chan school in the Song and subsequent periods.

In the Song, powerful processes of religious change led to the development of what we might call the "mature" Chan school of the later Song dynasty. I will show that government policies and social forces in the Song dynasty dramatically reshaped monastic Buddhism in ways that favored the

Chan lineage, giving an established framework to a "Chan school" and profoundly affecting doctrinal and sectarian developments within Chan Buddhism. Thus, it was in the Song that the Chan school acquired an institutional base, defined its crucial lineages, and developed its own distinctive literature. Later in the Song, in what in many ways marks a culmination in the development of mature Chan, the crucial distinction between silent illumination and kanhua Chan arose within the Chan school—an event that had a far-reaching impact not only on the Chan but on all of Chinese Buddhism and even on Confucian and Daoist thought, and that also created the framework for subsequent developments within Japanese Zen and Korean Sŏn. The mature Chan school's self-representation came to permanently shape an understanding of what Zen is in all of later East Asian Buddhism, creating an image that defines even modern conceptions of Chan, Zen, and Sŏn. Thus, if we wish to understand how Zen became Zen as we now perceive it, it is necessary that we investigate the formation of the mature Chan school in the Song.

The factional split that took place in the twelfth century between the silent illumination of the Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō) tradition of Chan and the kanhua Chan of the Linji (Jpn. Rinzai) tradition was a momentous and defining event in the history of Chan, and the ultimate objective of the present study is to arrive at a more complete and nuanced understanding of the split itself and the causes and conditions surrounding it. Silent illumination is associated with a quiet meditation in which the inherent Buddha-nature that all sentient beings possess naturally shines forth, while kanhua Chan is associated with an intense focus on the punch line of a *gongan* (Jpn. kōan) that is meant to lead to a dramatic breakthrough experience of original enlightenment. The split between the two may be the most monumental event in the history of Chan doctrinal development, because for the first time it brought out into the open an internal conundrum that had existed in Chan almost from the beginning: how to go about becoming enlightened when the most fundamental teaching of Chan is that we are already originally enlightened. This crucial concept of original, or inherent, enlightenment was grounded in the Mahāyāna Buddhist tathāgatagarbha (Ch. *rulaizang:* "womb" or "embryo" of Buddhahood) doctrine as it had come to be understood by almost all of Chinese Buddhism.[7] In China, tathāgatagarbha was equated with the notion of "Buddha-nature" (*foxing*), according to which all sentient beings are already originally and fully enlightened as they exist in this world. The problem was (and is) that we sentient beings have great difficulty in truly seeing that this is so. Our deluded minds cannot recognize our own Buddha-nature, and this makes us appear as utterly unenlightened beings. The Tang-dynasty monk Guifeng Zongmi (780–841) expressed it lucidly: "The [highest] teaching of the one vehicle that reveals the nature holds that all sentient beings without exception have the intrinsically enlightened true mind. From [time] without beginning, it is permanently abiding and immaculate. It is shining, unobscured, clear and bright

ever-present awareness. It is also called Buddha-nature, and it is also called tathāgatagarbha. From time without beginning, deluded thoughts cover it, and [sentient beings] by themselves are not aware of it."[8]

The problem was, as it confronted Chan ideology, that since sentient beings are intrinsically enlightened, it is only the deluded and dualistic mind that sees a difference between enlightenment and delusion. So what is someone who aspires to enlightenment to do? This usually unspoken issue had created a kind of fecund tension running through Chan, and different trends arose in dealing with it, most fundamentally between those who acknowledged that such things as study and meditative practices were necessary at some level and those who seemed to repudiate any kind of effort toward gaining enlightenment as dualistic and only furthering delusion. Most Chan masters would seem to have been caught somewhere in the middle, unable to deny that most beings are far from enlightened but also reluctant to discuss practical steps to be taken to bring an end to delusion and usher in enlightenment.

The development of the silent illumination and kanhua Chan approaches to practice and enlightenment highlighted the uneasiness surrounding the doctrine of inherent enlightenment with forceful clarity: silent illumination emphasized the wonderful world of inherent enlightenment that is present as soon as we sit down in nondualistic meditation and become aware of it, while kanhua Chan insisted that until we have *seen* our own enlightened nature in a shattering breakthrough event, all talk of inherent enlightenment is just empty words. These were very real differences, and the impact of the debate is still reverberating in the world of East Asian Zen. In Japan, silent illumination inspired the teachings of the famous Japanese Sōtō Zen founder Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253), while kanhua Chan was systematized and codified by Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768) and his disciples, becoming the foundation for the modern Japanese Rinzai Zen school. In Korea, kanhua Chan quickly took root through the efforts of the famous Sŏn master Chinul (1158–1210) and his disciple Hyesim (1178–1234), and it remains the standard form of Sŏn meditation. Silent illumination never had any real impact in Korea.

This study seeks to unwrap the intricacies surrounding the split between silent illumination and kanhua Chan and to place this development in its wider social, economic, and political context. To understand how silent illumination and kanhua Chan developed, a number of disparate issues must be explored, and questions of Chan ideology and soteriology must be brought together with an understanding of their institutional and political setting in the Song. It is also crucial for us to gain insight into the larger social and cultural milieu in which Chan functioned and into the social changes that took place in the Song within the class of the educated elite, which affected patterns of religious patronage. This study therefore draws upon a wide range of primary sources, including government manuals, official histories, commemorative inscriptions for monasteries, funerary inscriptions

for Chan masters, essay collections, travel descriptions, and private letters, as well as many different kinds of Buddhist sources.

It should be noted that a study such as the present one is focused on aspects of Buddhism that especially concerned the elite. To most people in the Song, questions of correct lineages, teachings of meditation and enlightenment, and interpretations of Buddhist doctrine were of little interest. The Song Chinese, like most people throughout human history, were mainly concerned with how supernatural powers could help them, their families, and their communities in their daily struggles. The most common way to enlist these powers was to appeal to gods at local temples. Each community had its own gods, although some gods gained regional and even national importance, and temples to them dotted the landscape everywhere. Worship of popular gods did not require any formal clergy or written texts; they could be appealed to directly, sometimes through mediums who would be possessed by them.[9] Under special circumstances, religious specialists were called in, such as Daoist or Buddhist priests, who in some situations were thought to be able to command powers that were greater than those of the local gods. In this way, Buddhism quite seamlessly fit into the larger religious universe of the Song. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were approached in much the same way as local gods and often beseeched for similar reasons. Buddhist notions such as karmic requital in this and subsequent lives and punishment in hells after death were part of the common religious assumptions shared by almost all of Song society (their Buddhist origins often forgotten or ignored).

Although the educated elite is often portrayed as aloof from the common people, the worldview of those who associated themselves with elite religious concerns was in fact deeply embedded in the fundamental assumptions of popular religion. The notion that the worlds of gods (including Buddhas and Bodhisattvas), ghosts, and deceased ancestors were in constant interaction with the world of living humans was taken for granted by virtually everyone. Thus, government officials were charged with carrying out rituals at temples of state-approved gods that the court had honored by granting them imposing titles, which were meant to make the gods exert themselves on behalf of the well-being of the empire.[10] Officials also frequently had to deal with infestations of ghosts and demonic forces and to preside over various rites of exorcism.[11] Even literati who were deeply invested in Buddhist doctrine and soteriology typically saw no problem with turning to local gods or non-Buddhist religious specialists to solve specific problems in their own lives or those of their families or communities. There are also many stories of famous Chan masters meeting and subduing ghosts or enlisting the help of gods. On occasion, Chan masters actively participated in popular religion by performing rituals for purposes such as bringing rain or warding off pests on behalf of the local community. The elite Chan monks who resided in the grand monasteries were by no means irrelevant to the communities in which they were situated. Although no uneducated commoner could hope

to approach such a Buddhist master, he could visit his monastery and benefit from the powerful positive forces the master embodied and perhaps, on certain occasions, even catch a glimpse of the Chan master performing rituals or dharma talks. Local elites would donate money, rice, and land to prestigious area monasteries, while artisans and others with few material resources could donate their labor, thereby gaining potent merit that could help them in this life and the next. There are also a number of examples of Chan masters' directly influencing the lives of the people living around their monasteries by, for example, exhorting them to give up fishing as a trade or organizing large-scale community projects, such as the drainage of a lake to gain arable land.[12]

Though their contributions are too frequently ignored and cannot be systematically addressed here, women could and did participate actively in Song Buddhism, both as monastics and in the role of patrons.[13] One source indicates that in 1021, of almost 460,000 monastics, over 13 percent were nuns.[14] Furthermore, just like monks, a number of nuns came from families of the educated elite, indicating that at least some elite families considered it socially acceptable for their girls to enter the Buddhist order. Nuns also become members of the Chan lineage and held positions as Chan masters (in convents) in the Song, but compared to the number of known male Chan masters, their numbers are miniscule.[15]

Due to advancements in printing techniques and the availability of cheaper paper in the latter part of the Song, a large number of books on a variety of topics were printed in this period by both government printers and private commercial printing houses. Printed texts included collections of government documents and ambitious works on history, technical works and books on medicine, collections of poetry, and the private jottings of various scholars.[16] At the same time, the earlier practice of hand-copying texts continued in the Song (although printed texts were more likely to survive). Thus, Song culture and society is better documented than any earlier period in Chinese history. In addition, many works written in earlier periods were first printed and circulated widely in the Song.

This book seeks to understand developments in Chan Buddhism by interrogating a plethora of voices in Song literature from across the spectrum of Song elite society. Far from being a closed system that was internally motivated, Buddhism in China can only be understood when we appreciate it in terms of how it functioned in, and interacted with, secular society. To this end, I combine close readings of official government documents and a broad range of literati writings with an examination of texts produced within, and across, Buddhism and the Chan tradition itself. This rich material offers rewarding glimpses of many aspects of politics, society, and religion in the Song. But things are not always what they seem. While government edicts and regulations, as one would expect, represent an extreme outsider perspective, literati texts often deliberately seem to adopt the perspective of an outsider even as the texts themselves, by their very nature,

sometimes may become insider accounts, as when their records of monastic construction projects or the lives of famous Chan masters became part of the institutional memory. Likewise, texts produced by members of the Chan school frequently disclose tensions within the Chan tradition—and sometimes criticisms and even satirical accounts of it—in ways that seem to situate their authors as outsiders to it. The distinction between insider and outsider is therefore not always clear-cut, and we have to approach all source materials cautiously and with an open mind. Furthermore, government sources, such as edicts, laws, and other regulations, must be seen as expressions of how the central administration envisioned local governance, which was not always reflected in actual policies carried out by local officials.

As a group, Song literati were prolific writers. It was a universal expectation that educated males would be able to produce poetry, descriptive prose, and essays on government. Literati would also frequently be called upon to write various types of inscriptions for Buddhist monasteries, Daoist temples, and shrines for local gods. The commercialization of printing in the Song facilitated and inspired literary production and gave rise to an unprecedented book culture, wherein many members of the educated elite became enthusiastic readers and book collectors, and even published writers themselves. Literati of some (at least local) distinction would often have their writings compiled and circulated, sometimes in printed form. Writings of several thousand members of the Song literati are still extant, and many times that number must have had their writings published.[17] Especially the informal genres of Song literati literature represent rich sources for understanding many aspects of Song society, including Buddhism. Another very important genre are the surviving local gazetteers produced by officials and other literati in many locales of the Song, which often contain information about Buddhism and Buddhist establishments not found in any other type of document. Among the Buddhist inscriptions many literati were persuaded to write, funerary inscriptions or epitaphs (*taming*) for Chan masters have been especially important for this study. Such inscriptions widely circulated in the Song and were no doubt read eagerly by monastics and lay Chan enthusiasts alike.[18] Funerary inscriptions often contain detailed biographies and give interesting information not typically found in other Buddhist sources. The text of an inscription would normally be carved in stone and erected at the monastery of its subject, although, due to a lack of funds and other obstacles, that may not always have happened. In a few cases, the actual stone still exists, but most extant epitaphs are known from various epigraphic collections into which they have been transcribed. Funerary inscriptions that Song writers composed would also often be included in their collected works. The Song elite, furthermore, frequently wrote inscriptions for Buddhist monasteries to celebrate completed construction projects, conversion to public status, or the bestowal of name plaques. Such inscriptions can tell us much about how Buddhism was organized in the Song and

about literati attitudes toward it.[19] Fortunately, the vast amount of extant Song literature has recently become much more accessible to scholarly inquiry though several ambitious digitizing projects.[20]

A wealth of Chinese Buddhist writing from the Song also survives. By the Song, Chinese Buddhism had truly come into its own and was no longer looking toward India for explanation and inspiration. All the major sūtras and śāstras of Indian Buddhism had been translated, and contact with India and the Central Asian Buddhist states had become rare, partly because China was cut off by hostile neighbors. Song Buddhism created a large body of literature, much of which came to have as much authority as the translated scriptures. The Chan school was by far the most prolific school of Song Buddhism, and part of the considerable body of texts it created is still extant.[21] The volume of literature produced by the Chan school far outweighs anything produced by any other groups of Buddhism in the Song. The irony of the Song Chan school's claim to embody "a separate transmission outside the teachings, not setting up words" was not lost on contemporaries, including the bibliophile Chen Zhensun (ca. 1190–after 1249), who pointed out that four of the Chan transmission histories together consisted of 120 fascicles comprising several tens of millions of characters, and who mockingly twisted the Chan school's self-description as "not relying on words" (*bu li wenzi*) to read as its homophonic "never separated from words."[22]

Print culture in particular made it possible for Chan masters to create close ties with the educated elite. Collections entitled "recorded sayings of Chan master so-and-so" were often published during a Chan master's own lifetime. The term "recorded sayings" (*yulu*) signified that these collections were records of a master's oral teachings, such as dialogues from his encounters with students and other masters, as well as sermons that he had given. But the typical recorded sayings of a Song Chan master also often included poems, letters, and other texts written by him. The recorded sayings collections of over a hundred different Song Chan masters survive in some form, and at least as many are known to have existed but are no longer extant.[23] Although these works were no doubt perused by monastic Chan students, their main audience was the educated elite, and the reception of a Chan master's recorded sayings could have a large impact on his career.

The single most important genre of Chan Buddhist texts in the Song, however, were transmission histories. This genre helped to spark and sustain the interest of the educated elite in the Chan school, and its works also served as documents of self-definition for the Chan lineages. Transmission histories came to be known as *denglu,* or "lamp records," so named because they often have the word "lamp" in their titles. The work that first gave the genre its name was the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the transmission of the lamp from the Jingde [1004–1008] era; hereafter *Chuandeng lu*), an extremely influential book that in many ways came to define Song Chan. The "transmission of the lamp" is a reference to the transmission of the dharma from master to disciple, as one lamp lights another. The Chan transmission

histories were organized into entries on individual Chan masters, which may include pieces of sermons, dialogues with disciples, and poetry, sometimes supplemented with biographical notes.[24] The records in the transmission histories were meant to be inspiring and educational, giving the reader a glimpse of the mind of an enlightened master and perhaps inducing the reader to pursue a similar path or even triggering an enlightenment experience. But the transmission histories were also ordered in a pattern that strictly followed the genealogical lines of master-disciple relationships, and they contained tables of contents that also included the names of monks whose records were not included in the work, in effect constituting genealogical lists. This was perhaps the most important function of the transmission histories—to serve as a kind of who's who of Chan masters—and anyone in the Song interested in Chan would have been very familiar with these lists. The transmission histories provide important material for the understanding of Chan in the Song, but it is crucial to remember that they are religious and didactic works and that they cannot be used as simple records of the past. Other works that were important to the Song Chan school, and today to the historian of Chan, include a number of collections of anecdotes about Chan masters, Chan monastic rules, collections of notes and miscellaneous writings by Chan masters, as well as Buddhist histories and other Buddhist writings produced outside the Chan school. Most of the Chinese Buddhist canon has now been digitized and made freely available by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association.[25]

Perhaps because of Chan's own seductive rhetoric and dramatic pseudohistorical narratives, much about the Chan tradition is still commonly misunderstood. In the first chapter of this book, which provides background information on the Chan school in the Song, I address several still-prevalent misconceptions about the Chan school and its sociocultural setting. Thus, I argue that the notion of five "houses," or "families," of Chan that are often understood to represent distinct approaches to Chan practice is a construct that had surprisingly little relevance to the Song Chan school, at least prior to the conflict between silent illumination and kanhua Chan. I also argue against the common view that the educated elite consisted of "Confucians" who as a group saw Buddhism as a foreign and heterodox religion.

I turn in the second chapter to an examination of the circumstances that led to Chan's becoming the leading form of elite monastic Buddhism, which I connect to the early Song court's promotion of a certain kind of monastery, known as a "public" (*shifang*) monastery. Public monasteries were especially associated with the Chan school, and because the Song government in various ways encouraged the establishment of such monasteries, it indirectly came to strongly favor the growth of the Chan school. It is doubtful that there could have been a Chan school as we know it without this development.

While the policies of the Song government had a decisive impact on the development of monastic Buddhism, and of Chan in particular, the patron-

age of the educated elite was also critically important to the success of the Chan school and its individual lineages, as I argue in the third chapter. In the Song, support from members of the literati was crucial to the personal ambitions of a Chan master, and to the fate of particular Chan lineages, because of the elite's economic power and its power to influence appointments to the abbacies of public monasteries. Chan lineages can be understood as "transmission families," and procreation was a major concern of these lineages, as it is of all families. Only as an abbot at a public monastery could a Chan master give transmission to his students, and Chan masters were very aware that they required the support of officials and local literati if they wished to obtain abbacies and continue their lineages. Appealing to the interests of the educated elite thus became an important subtext in the Chan school, and the very real influence of elite laypeople[26] ultimately contributed in significant ways to the shaping of Chan ideology and factional, or sectarian, consciousness.

With support from the state and from many members of the educated elite, the Chan school prospered and expanded during the first centuries of the Song. But toward the end of this period, it began to experience serious competition from other newly revived schools of Buddhism that had successfully patterned their own organization on the Chan school. Furthermore, in the twelfth century, monastic Buddhism in general came under some pressure from less-than-sympathetic state policies, and the state seems to have become less active at the local level. At this time, the nature of the literati as a class underwent some profound changes, as it became harder for members of the educated elite to obtain appointment to government office. Social historians have argued that the elite, in response, turned its attention away from the national level toward the local level, filling in the vacuum left by the state. All of these changes had the effect of making literati support even more crucial to the success of Chan masters and their lineages.

Around the same time, the Caodong tradition, one of the traditional five houses of Chan, began to undergo a momentous revival, which I examine in chapter 4. Having almost died out, its lineage was resurrected at the end of the eleventh century, and within decades it became one of the most powerful groups of elite monastic Buddhism in Song China. The study of this revival yields important insights into the creative process by which the Caodong tradition was reinvented through the remaking of its lineage, the crafting of suitable hagiographies for its ancestors, and, eventually, the creation of a distinctive style of teaching and practice that came to be known as silent illumination. The success of the Caodong tradition was clearly perceived as a threat by the dominant Linji tradition, whose members attacked the Caodong tradition in various ways, most notably targeting its teachings of "heretical silent illumination Chan," which were denounced as quietistic and, worse, as not leading to enlightenment. The most vocal opponent of silent illumination was Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), who insisted on the necessity of a shattering enlightenment experience, and in chapter 5 I analyze

his attacks on silent illumination and discuss the kanhua Chan that he developed to counter it. Since there has been some discussion of who exactly Dahui and other members of the Linji tradition were attacking, I present evidence in the subsequent chapter that Linji masters did indeed mean to target the entire new Caodong tradition with their criticism of silent illumination, and that they attacked the lineage that the Caodong tradition claimed for itself as well. Furthermore, I show that the Linji attacks on silent illumination were especially directed toward instructing members of the educated elite, many of whom had become interested in the teachings of the revived Caodong tradition and were patrons of its masters.

A further important question is whether the new Caodong tradition in fact taught silent illumination of the sort depicted in the attacks by the Linji masters. In the final chapter, I show that the revived Caodong tradition did indeed teach an approach to enlightenment and practice that reasonably can be called "silent illumination" (although the term was very rarely used) but that the attacks by Dahui and others in many ways distorted it. Although scholars have tended to see silent illumination as characteristic of the Caodong tradition from its very inception, moreover, I argue that this was not the case: silent illumination was developed by Furong Daokai (1043–1118) and his descendants, partly as a teaching that could appeal to educated laypeople. Although Dahui succeed in discrediting the term "silent illumination" the Caodong silent illumination was in itself not especially controversial: standard meditation in the Chan school prior to Dahui's kanhua Chan was very much like that advocated by the masters in the revived Caodong tradition.

The sectarian split within Chan only becomes fully understandable when placed in the context of government policies, economic realities, and relations with members of the educated elite. In the conclusion, I reiterate that the sectarianism we see in Dahui and other Linji masters was a new phenomenon. Through the first part of the Song, known as the Northern Song (Bei Song, 920–1127), the different Chan lineages had coexisted without challenging the legitimacy of one another, even as they contended among themselves. However, the apex of the rise of the new Caodong tradition coincided with a time when the Chan school as a whole had begun to feel itself under pressure and had become more dependent on support from the literati. This helps to explain why the reinvented Caodong tradition may not have been regarded as a welcome addition by the other Chan traditions and why it may have seen an early need to differentiate itself from the dominant Linji tradition by shifting to a more sectarian mode and developing a distinctive teaching that could appeal to literati. The pool of powerful literati actively interested in Chan was to some extent finite, and, significantly, the names of the same literati figures often come up in connection with several different Chan masters from different traditions. Most literati did not differentiate clearly between the various Chan traditions, and it became the task of twelfth-century Chan masters to make them see a difference. It is telling

that the Linji tradition's attacks on the Caodong teachings were mainly directed toward members of the literati rather than toward monastics: this and other evidence indicates that the Caodong tradition's silent illumination approach was successful in attracting lay supporters. In spite of the serious and very real soteriological issues the dispute involved, then, both silent illumination and kanhua Chan must also be understood as strategies to attract members of the literati developed at a time when literati support had become more crucial than ever.[27]

CHAPTER 1
Chan Buddhism in the Song
Some Background

The Reception of the Chan School in the Song

In 1101, shortly after he had ascended the throne, the young emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1126) wrote a preface for an important Chan Buddhist transmission history and ordered the work included in the Buddhist canon. In his preface to this work, the *Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* (Continuation of the record of the [transmission of] the lamp from the Jianzhong Jingguo [era, 1101–1102]; hereafter *Xudeng lu*),[1] Huizong reiterates the Chan school's version of the enlightenment of the Buddha and the story of how the Buddha transmitted the eye storehouse of the true dharma (*zhengfa yanzang*) to his disciple Mahākāśyapa (d.u.). The transmission eventually reached Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530),[2] who became the first patriarch in China, and after five generations the transmission came to Huineng (638–713), the sixth patriarch. From two of Huineng's disciples, Huizong continues, the Chan transmission further divided into five traditions that, although different in style, had all benefited sentient beings and led many to enlightenment. "Each [Chan tradition]," Huizong explains, "has spread wide its influence and put forth luxuriant foliage, but the two traditions of Yunmen and Linji now dominate the whole world."[3]

Huizong was not a unique imperial supporter of Chan Buddhism. In fact, he was very skeptical of Buddhism, and years later, fueled by a fascination with Daoism, he instituted the only persecution of Buddhism that took place in the Song.[4] Nor was he the first Song emperor to write a preface for a work that embodied the particular worldview of the Chan school; his predecessor, the emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063), had in 1036 written a preface for the Chan transmission history the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (Expanded record [of the transmission] of the lamp from the Tiansheng era [1023–1032]; hereafter *Guangdeng lu*).[5] Furthermore, the *Chuandeng lu,* the very first and most important of the Song transmission histories, had been published under imperial auspices in 1009.[6] Rather than expressing Huizong's personal feelings about Chan Buddhism, his preface can be understood to mirror a sentiment widely shared by all levels of the educated elite, and it shows how thoroughly Chan Buddhism had become established and integrated into elite culture by the late eleventh century.

The picture of the Chan school that Huizong painted in his preface

would have been a familiar one to his readers. The Chan school's version of its own early history was so well known in Song literati society that Huizong obviously saw no need to spell it out. The Chan lineage, in its final form, went from the Buddha Śākyamuni through a single line of twenty-eight Indian patriarchs to Bodhidharma, who brought the transmission to China.[7] In China, the lineage went through five more transmissions, to Huike (ca. 485–ca. 555 or after 574), Sengcan (d.u.), Daoxin (580–651), and Hongren (601–674), in each generation passing from one Chinese patriarch to the next, until it arrived at the famous sixth patriarch, Huineng. According to Chan mythology, Huineng had to battle those who misunderstood the Chan teachings and who had misappropriated the Chan lineage, and, emerging victorious, he eventually received imperial recognition for himself and the pure Chan that he stood for.[8] After Huineng, the transmission was no longer conferred upon only one person in each generation, and from two of Huineng's disciples, Nanyue Huairang (677–744) and Qingyuan Xingsi (d. 740), the Chan lineage branched out into numerous sub-lineages. As Huizong indicates, by the twelfth century, the understanding of the Song Chan school was that the Chan lineages descending from Huineng had become crystallized into five different branches known as "families" (*jia;* usually translated "houses") or "traditions" (*zong*).[9] Again, as Huizong has it, although each of these five lineages were thought of as having their own particular style of Chan, they all were considered legitimate heirs to Huineng's Chan.

The nature of the transmission shared by the lineages descending from Huineng is described in an oft-quoted statement:

> A separate transmission outside the teachings,
> not setting up words,
> directly pointing at the human mind,
> seeing one's own nature, Buddhahood is achieved.[10]

This conception of "a separate transmission" represented an extremely powerful claim to legitimacy and authority by the Song Chan school and was at the very center of its self-understanding. The transmission was cast as outside the Buddhist written teachings—indeed, transcending any verbal formulation—because it was outside the limitations of human language. What was transmitted was insight into the totality of ultimate reality, a profound understanding that could not be expressed in words. The implication was that those who had received this transmission possessed an insight that was, in principle, identical to that of the historical Buddha himself. The content of the transmission was, of course, entirely in the religious realm, but the transmission line itself was understood, and meant to be understood, as a fact of history. In a very real sense, then, the members of the Chan lineage were living Buddhas, and only through association with one of them could a person gain the same special insight and receive the transmission.

A Chan master's entire claim to legitimacy rested with his (or in some cases her) recognized position in the transmission line. In this way, the lineage was both the vehicle for a mysterious transmission of a wordless truth and a very concrete historical fact.

The Song Chan school's tidy picture of its own history became accepted as orthodox in all of later Chinese Buddhism, even tacitly by rival schools, and was taken over wholesale by the Japanese and Korean Zen and Sŏn schools that emerged through contacts with Song Chan traditions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[11] Scholars of Buddhism also accepted the story of the lineage as largely historical fact, and in spite of recent revisionist scholarship, the traditional conception of Chan history still lingers in the academy (and is very much alive in popular literature on East Asian Zen).[12] Yet the entire lineage prior to the Song is best understood as a mythical construct, a sacred history that served to legitimize the Song Chan school and its claim to possess a special transmission. Even in the Song, the Chan lineage was subject to constant manipulation and reinterpretation in order to legitimize the lineages of certain masters and their descendants or to bolster polemical and religious claims.

In any case, the only clearly defining characteristic of a Song Chan master was that he or she was recognized as holding a transmission in the Chan lineage. Only such a person was a member of the "Chan school." As T. Griffith Foulk has pointed out, there was no special category of "Chan monastics" in the Song, because there was no special Chan ordination.[13] In China, unlike in Japan, all monastics were, and still are, ordained into the general Buddhist order and not into a particular sect. The vast majority of monks and nuns did not aspire to membership in the Chan transmission family or any of the other transmission families that appeared in the Song. Those who did, however, typically underwent decades-long training in special public monasteries, and only then would they receive the transmission and become members of their master's lineage.

However, among the Song secular elite, just like in modern popular understanding, Chan was considered distinctive not so much for its lineage as for its unique literature and its depictions of iconoclastic Chan masters. The most well-known kind of Chan literature, which was widely read in the Song, are the stories in the transmission histories and recorded sayings collections about venerable ancient Chan masters' encounters with disciples and other interlocutors that are referred to in scholarship as "encounter dialogue."[14] Encounter dialogue is unique to Chan Buddhist literature. It depicts Chan masters interacting with monastics and sometimes laypeople in highly unconventional ways, using disruptive and illogical language and seemingly bizarre or shocking actions. These stories also came to be referred to as gongan, although strictly speaking such a story only became a gongan when it was commented upon or used in instruction by a subsequent Chan master.[15] Stories such as those about Nanquan Puyuan (748–835) hacking a cat in two,[16] Yunmen Wenyan (864–949) informing his audience that the

most valuable thing in the world is a piece of dried shit,[17] Dongshan Liangjie (807–869) insisting that he learned nothing whatsoever from his master,[18] and many others that supposedly point to the inherently enlightened mind of all sentient beings were very familiar to members of the Song educated elite (and probably to many outside the elite as well).

In Song Chan, stories like these served an important function as sacred and educational texts. The antics and cryptic statements of the legendary Chan masters of the past became sacred lore that was memorized and cherished by students. Of course, Song Chan did not itself engage in or condone actions like the killing of cats as an expression of ultimate truth. Rather, Song Chan monasteries were strictly governed, large institutions where students lived highly regulated lives, engaging in ritualized lectures and encounters with the master according to an established schedule. The assumption was that the modern Song man did not measure up to his counterpart in the Tang and that the spontaneous interactions between master and disciple that used to take place were no longer viable. But by reading and listening to lectures on the sayings and doings of the ancient masters and by engaging in the right kind of meditation, the mind of the Song Chan student might be inspired in a way that would ultimately lead to an enlightenment similar to those experienced by his Tang counterparts.

In spite of the imaginations of the Song Chan school, encounter dialogue and gongan stories cannot be reliably traced back to Tang-dynasty Chan. There is no evidence at all of encounter dialogue prior to the 952 *Zutang ji* (Anthology from the halls of the patriarchs), and even here it does not feature nearly as prominently as it does in the later Song sources. Thus, the famous Mazu Daoyi (709–788), who is often depicted as the quintessential iconoclastic Chan master, appears as a rather sedate and deliberate champion of the doctrine of innate Buddha-nature in the early sources that refer to him.[19] Even Mazu's record in the *Zutang ji* gives a decidedly less iconoclastic picture of him than do later sources.[20] The early, eighth-century version of the *Liuzu tanjing* (Platform Sūtra of the sixth patriarch; hereafter *Platform Sūtra*) also does not contain any encounter dialogue or antinomian behavior. This and the majority of the other early Chan texts that we now have available to us were not known in the Song and later, but only rediscovered in the twentieth century.[21] Clearly, the Chan enthusiasts of the Song had no use for the plodding sermons of early Chan, and the *Platform Sūtra* itself had to be rewritten a number of times before it found a form that was acceptable to the later Chan community.[22] Thus, there is profound discontinuity between Chan as we know it from sources prior to the *Zutang ji* and the Chan we know from the later period. The sayings and doings of the "classical" Tang masters almost all have come down to the present in the form they were given in the Song or later. While it cannot be ruled out that some core of this material first took shape in the Tang, it is clear that the form it was given by its Song editors was made to serve the needs of the Song Chan school.

The Tang Chan lore served to exalt the position of the abbot in the Song Chan monastic setting. In the Song, the abbot of a Chan monastery was someone who held a transmission in the Chan lineage and thus was a spiritual heir to the great Tang Chan masters on whose words he so often lectured. A Song Chan master was therefore imbued with great charisma (and often, no doubt, with great personal charismatic powers), and just as the words of the Tang masters were thought to have been recorded by members of their audiences, the sermons of the abbot in a Song Chan monastery were preserved and often later published. Song Chan masters and their students engaged in many different kinds of Buddhist practice and often studied sūtras and traditional commentaries as well as Chan works. Most Song Chan masters used gongan commentary in their sermons, quoting ("raising"; *ju*) a story about a Tang Chan master, often from the *Chuandeng lu,* and offering comments on it—comments that were usually just as cryptic as the original story. But otherwise, the teachings, emphases, and styles of individual Song-dynasty Chan masters ranged over a very wide spectrum. Chan monasteries had the same layout, held largely the same rituals, and were run along the same lines as monasteries associated with other Buddhist schools (and, as we shall see, the affiliations of monasteries could easily change). There was therefore little to distinguish the Chan school in practical terms from other Buddhist groups.[23] Thus, the most fundamental notion of the Chan school in the Song was not one of uniqueness of institution or practice. Rather, what gave the Chan school its identity was the concept of the special Chan transmission lineage.

Chan and Factionalism

The concept of the Chan transmission line was, from the beginning, contentious. The notion that what was being transmitted was the wordless essence of the Buddha's teachings implied that those who had no connections to the lineage could at best be considered to hold a lesser truth, and this implication was a continuous irritant to other Buddhist groups.[24] Although elite Song society favored the irenic model of several equally valid Chan lineages that Huizong presented, struggles between different Chan lineages were much in evidence in the Song, even at the time Huizong wrote his preface. In fact, the whole formation of the Chan school can be said to have been wrought through battles between competing lineages. Aside from the formative period of early Chan, however, and until the rise of the struggle between silent illumination and kanhua Chan discussed later in this book, Chan was not characterized by sectarian division, and there were no arguments over correct belief and practice that split antagonists into opposing camps condemning one another.[25] It seems clear that the different Chan traditions did not so much disagree about approaches to Chan teachings and practice as they contended among one another in a kind of sibling rivalry. Concepts of lineage identity were crucial to all of Chan, but the fre-

quency and ordinariness of interactions between Chan masters and students from different lineages documented throughout Northern Song Chan literature clearly indicate that the inclusive attitude was not just a matter of rhetoric. The assumption often found in the secondary literature that Chan consisted of competing "sects" simply does not find support in extant Chan materials.

Let us now turn to a brief overview of the history of competition between different Chan lineages. The early part of the transmission line that Song Chan claimed for itself seems to have first taken shape in the lower Yangzi area of Hubei within the "East Mountain" community of Daoxin and Hongren.[26] Not much is known for certain about the teachings of Daoxin and Hongren or their communities,[27] but it appears that Hongren mainly, or even exclusively, taught meditation.[28] Several of Hongren's disciples became very successful, and, being active in the Tang imperial cities of Chang'an and Luoyang, they gained supporters among high-ranking officials and members of the imperial court—even the rulers themselves. It is unlikely that Daoxin or Hongren saw themselves as "founders" or members of a new, unique Chan lineage going back to Bodhidharma and ultimately to the Buddha.[29] Rather, it is in texts associated with Hongren's disciples that we first hear of a special line of Chan transmission. The notion of a special transmission linking a lineage in China back to the historical Buddha had already been introduced by Guanding (561–632), a prominent disciple of the Tiantai founder, Zhiyi (538–597), in Guanding's efforts to create a Tiantai lineage.[30] But no wide awareness of a Chan lineage is found in contemporary sources. In the earliest reference to Daoxin, an entry in the nonsectarian Buddhist history the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Continued chronicle of eminent monks; compiled 645–667), Hongren is mentioned several times, but Daoxin is also cited as saying that he had entrusted his teaching to students on numerous occasions, seemingly undermining the idea that Hongren received a special transmission from him.[31] The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* contains no mention of a special Chan lineage; furthermore, the work does not link Daoxin to Bodhidharma, and the later third patriarch, Sengcan, is not included at all.

The earliest known statement of a Chan lineage is found in the epitaph for Hongren's disciple Faru (638–689),[32] and it is possible that the notion originated with Faru or his followers.[33] The epitaph states that in India there was a wordless transmission from mind to mind of the Buddha's essential teaching that eventually reached Bodhidharma, who brought it to China. Here, the early Chinese lineage is found in the form that remained the accepted one—that is, Bodhidharma to Huike to Sengcan to Daoxin to Hongren—with the addition of Faru himself. Although this lineage quickly became accepted in the emerging Chan school, the position claimed for Faru in his epitaph was soon challenged by groups around other disciples of Hongren, including Laoan (also known as Huian; d. 708) and especially Shenxiu (606?–706), who became extremely famous in his old age and was

honored in the capital by both the empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–705) and, later, the emperor Zhongzong (r. 705–710).[34] In Shenxiu's epitaph, it is indicated that he received a special transmission from Hongren that had come down from Bodhidharma, and no mention whatsoever is made of Faru or Hongren's other disciples.[35] It seems that especially Shenxiu's disciple Puji (651–739) did much to promote Shenxiu as the sixth patriarch and rightful heir to Hongren's transmission.

It was against this background of competing claims to legitimacy that the monk Shenhui (684–758) in 730 began his now-famous attacks on Puji and what he called the "Northern School" of Chan.[36] Shenhui charged that the Northern School taught an inferior gradual and dualistic approach to enlightenment and that it had usurped the position of the sixth patriarch by claiming that title for Shenxiu. According to Shenhui, the real heir to Hongren was Huineng, who had founded a Southern School of Chan. Huineng was, in fact, an obscure monk whose name is only known from one other early source, where he is listed as one of Hongren's ten main disciples but where Hongren also is quoted as noting that Huineng would be a master of only local significance.[37] Shenhui claimed to be the disciple of Huineng, and the underlying implication of his denunciation of the Northern School and his promotion of Huineng and the Southern School was that he, Shenhui, and not Puji, was the rightful seventh patriarch.[38]

In asserting that Huineng was Hongren's only true heir, Shenhui did not differ from the other disciples of Hongren's students who claimed that their master was the rightful heir to the lineage. But it would seem that Shenhui was unique in attacking specific points in the other groups' approach to Buddhist practice. Research has shown that Shenhui's attacks on the Northern School were largely based on distortions of its doctrine, or at least that Shenhui misdirected his criticism.[39] Of course, Shenhui's claim that Huineng was the real sixth patriarch was no more—and probably less—justified than the claims to the title made for the other disciples of Hongren, such as Shenxiu or Faru, who, unlike Huineng, clearly were prominent Buddhist masters in their time. However, Shenhui's oratory and political skills must have been considerable, and his crusade was, in the end, highly successful.[40] His attacks on gradualism and dualism and his emphasis on sudden enlightenment made later generations of Chan practitioners very sensitive to those issues.[41] Eventually, many of Shenhui's claims about Huineng were incorporated into the famous *Platform Sūtra,* a work that seems to have been widely circulated.[42] According to Guifeng Zongmi, who saw himself as a third-generation descendant of Shenhui, a council of Chan masters called together by imperial order in 796 pronounced Shenhui the seventh patriarch of Chan (implicitly confirming Huineng's position as the sixth patriarch).[43] However, Shenhui was never widely accepted as the seventh patriarch, and his importance in early Chan was quickly almost completely forgotten.[44] Furthermore, Zongmi elsewhere lists seven different Chan factions, out of which only two traced themselves to Huineng (the

others saw Hongren, or in one case Daoxin, as their ancestor), so the victory of Shenhui's vision of the lineage was by no means complete.[45] In spite of Shenhui's efforts to uphold the notion that only one person at a time could be in possession of the transmission, this idea quickly faded out, and the different Chan groups, which held the early transmission line in common, seem more or less to have accepted each other as legitimate, even when they were in competition.[46] In the decades after Zongmi, only Chan groups tracing themselves back to Huineng survived, and the tacit agreement between different Chan lineages to accept the legitimacy of one another became an enduring pattern within the Chan school.

As noted earlier, sometime in the eleventh century, it became part of Chan self-understanding that the lineages descending from Huineng had arranged themselves into five traditions, all of which could be traced back to one of his two disciples, Nanyue Huairang or Qingyuan Xingsi. These were the Caodong tradition, apparently named after Dongshan Liangjie (807–869) and his disciple Caoshan Benji (840–901); the Fayan tradition, named after its ancestral figure Fayan Wenyi (885–958); the Guiyang tradition, named after its two founding ancestors, Guishan Lingyou (771–853) and his disciple Yangshan Huiji (807–883); the Linji tradition, named after Linji Yixuan (d. 866); and the Yunmen tradition, named after Yunmen Wenyan (864–949). This scheme has given rise to much misunderstanding in modern treatments of Chan, wherein the five traditions are commonly understood as "sects" of Chan representing distinct approaches to Chan thought and practice based on the vision and thinking of their founders. On the contrary, the scheme is one that was created retrospectively, and I argue that it was primarily based on lineage relationships, not on any substantial doctrinal distinctions.

It is not clear exactly when the fivefold scheme first appeared. It is usually thought that the earliest source to formulate the scheme was the *Zongmen shigui lun* (Ten normative treatises on the Chan school), a work attributed to Fayan Wenyi.[47] A passage in this work mentions the Caodong, Linji, Yunmen, and Guiyang traditions by name,[48] and since Fayan Wenyi himself came to be seen as the founder of the Fayan tradition, this had been treated as a list of the five houses. However, this interpretation assumes that Fayan saw himself as the founder of a new Chan tradition, which seems unlikely, and the listing leaves out several prominent Chan masters contemporary to Fayan who were not encompassed in the fivefold scheme.[49] That this was not meant to be an exhaustive scheme is also indicated by the fact that an earlier passage in the *Zongmen shigui lun* mentions *six* different lines of Chan.[50] The six lineages include the four already cited[51] as well as the Deshan (no doubt named for Deshan Xuanjian, 782–865) and Xuefeng (Xuefeng Yicun, 822–908) lineages. This scheme includes Fayan himself, who was a third-generation descendant of Xuefeng Yicun, as well as many of his contemporaries, but it still leaves out several others. Fayan must have been aware that even this list of six lineages was not exhaustive, and he ends it with the character *deng,* which can indicate an unfinished enumeration.

However, if we accept the passages from the *Zongmen shigui lun* discussed above as authentic, it has to be concluded that at least as early as the second half of the tenth century, different lineages going back to Huineng were perceived to have some sort of distinct identity. The use of the composite names for the Caodong and Guiyang traditions (which are both constructed from the name of the master and disciple who are seen as their founders) indicate that the identity of the lineages was based on something other than allegiance to a particular outstanding master. Interestingly, in both passages referred to above, Fayan brings up the different Chan lineages in the context of lamenting the contentiousness among them. It seems clear, then, that different lineages of Chan competed against one another in Fayan's time.

The specific scheme of five traditions, however, cannot have been in place by the time of Fayan Wenyi. The *Zutang ji* from 952, written when Fayan was still alive, does not refer to a comprehensive system of distinct lineages.[52] This is not surprising: the five traditions scheme left the compilers of the *Zutang ji,* Jing (d.u.) and Yun (d.u.), as well as their master, Zhaoting Shengdeng (a.k.a. Zhaoting Wendeng, 884–972), who was a second-generation descendant of Xuefeng Yicun, outside the classification system. Furthermore, Fayan Wenyi is not included at all in the *Zutang ji;* and although Yunmen Wenyan is included, none of his disciples are, and there is no sense in the text that Wenyan was the founder of a separate tradition.[53]

The *Zutang ji* is otherwise significant for its inclusive image of the Chan lineage. It is the first extant real transmission history, and it both affirmed and established a precedent for the view that the Chan school consisted of a number of equally legitimate lineages descending from Huineng as the sixth patriarch.[54] The *Zutang ji* was compiled in Quanzhou under the Southern Tang (Nan Tang, 937–975) in what is now Fujian province, a region that enjoyed relative peace and prosperity. The Southern Tang rulers supported Buddhism as a source of legitimacy for their regime, and it is thought that a number of representatives of different regional Chan movements gathered in the Southern Tang area, bringing the lore and lineage mythology of their traditions together and making possible the construction of a unified vision of Chan as a large family.[55] The *Zutang ji* even gave partial legitimacy to some of the long extinct "co-lateral" lineages that descended from Hongren and Daoxin.[56] This vision of a large, united, and well-ordered Chan transmission family that embodied the charisma of the Buddha himself was exactly what a ruler looking for a legitimizing force would want, and it served the Chan movement extremely well under the subsequent Song dynasty. This does not mean, however, that the *Zutang ji* is completely impartial. Although the compilers themselves were in a lineage descending from Xuefeng Yicun, which is subtly promoted in the *Zutang ji,* the *Zutang ji* also especially endorses Mazu and his lineage in the text as exemplary representatives of orthodox Chan, which suggests that Mazu's lineage had become especially prestigious at the time the *Zutang ji* was written.[57]

Early in the Song, the *Zutang ji* was eclipsed by the more expansive and

much more polished *Jingde Chuandeng lu,* which was published in 1009, and eventually the *Zutang ji* was lost in China. Several catalogues by book collectors from the Song and Yuan mention the *Zutang ji,* however, and the work was quite possibly known to many Chan enthusiasts in the Song.[58]

The *Chuandeng lu* was at least partly based on the *Zutang ji,* and it continues and amplifies the inclusive approach to Chan as a large and harmonious transmission family.[59] The work was initially compiled by Yongan Daoyuan (d.u.), who was a second-generation descendant of Fayan Wenyi, but it was revised by a group of literati led by Yang Yi (968–1020) that polished the language and may have edited the work in other significant ways. The *Chuandeng lu* does not mention any of the five traditions by name, nor does it mention a system of five lineages. Nonetheless, everyone in the last generations included in the *Chuandeng lu* can be seen as a descendant of one of the five traditions. Whether this came about because of a preconceived idea of five distinct lineages or whether the material available to the compiler of the *Chuandeng lu* simply presented itself in this way is at this point impossible to determine. The *Chuandeng lu* itself discreetly promotes the lineage descending from Fayan Wenyi, as one would expect, by including large numbers of individuals from the lineage. Thus, Fayan is credited with sixty-three dharma heirs, and his disciple Tiantai Deshao (891–972) alone has forty-nine heirs listed, while Deshao's dharma brothers are credited with a total of twenty-five heirs.[60] Daoyuan, the original compiler of the *Chuandeng lu,* on the other hand, is not mentioned at all among the disciples of Deshao, and in the next generation a total of only five heirs to Fayan's lineage are listed.[61] Interestingly, no heirs are recorded for Fayan's second-generation descendant Yunju Daoqi (929–997), the heir of the otherwise little-known Qingliang Taiqin (d.u.), although Daoqi is credited with a large number of disciples in later transmission histories.[62] Perhaps Daoqi's lineage was seen as competing with that of Deshao. In any case, the *Chuandeng lu* implicitly lays out a framework of five houses, or families, of Chan, and, given the great influence of this work, it is not surprising that in the years after it was compiled the scheme of five houses became generally accepted within the Chan school.

The earliest clear indication that the scheme of five houses had become an organizational paradigm is found in the *Guangdeng lu,* the transmission history from 1039. This work is arranged in discrete sections for each of the five houses, although there is no explicit mention of the system—perhaps indicating that its existence was simply taken for granted at this point. Unlike its predecessors, the *Guangdeng lu* is an unabashedly biased work, in the sense that it strongly promotes the Linji tradition over the other four. The work begins with the traditional list of patriarchs but then continues with the Chan masters leading down to Linji Yixuan in a single line, thereby implying that they were patriarchs of a stature similar to Huineng. The *Guangdeng lu* then discusses numerous descendants in the Linji tradition before turning to the Yunmen tradition, the Caodong tradition, a few masters

in the Guiyang tradition, and finally the Fayan tradition. In this way, the *Guangdeng lu* strongly promotes the Linji tradition (it even includes what is essentially a recorded sayings collection of Linji Yixuan)[63] while at the same time acknowledging the other traditions' right to claim lineages descending from Huineng. The *Guangdeng lu* was compiled by the literatus Li Zunxu (988–1038), who was a high-ranking official and an in-law to the emperor Renzong. Renzong even wrote a preface for the *Guangdeng lu,* and the work clearly reflects the high standing of the Linji tradition at court at the time of its creation.[64]

A no-longer-extant work entitled *Wujia zongpai* (The lineages of the five traditions) that Daguan Tanying (989–1060) compiled toward the end of his life[65] and that is known from several sources may have contained the first direct discussion of the scheme of five Chan traditions. This work was noted for its reassignment of several of the lineages established in the *Chuandeng lu,* as I will discuss in chapter 6. The earliest extant occurrence of an unambiguous reference to a scheme of five distinct lineages of Chan that I have been able to locate, however, is a comment that the famous scholar and Chan master Qisong (1007–1072) attached to the end of his list of monks descended from Huineng in his *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (Record of the dharma transmission of the true lineage), completed sometime before 1061. The note says in full:

> My opinion is: The True Teaching [*zhengzong*] came down to Huineng and after this was transmitted broadly. The students then each served the master's words in their own manner, and in this way different traditions arose in the world. These traditions contended with each other and called themselves "families" [*jia*]. Thus, there appeared what was called the Guiyang, the Caodong, the Linji, the Yunmen, and the Fayan [families]. Their followers were countless. Today, the followers of three families of the Yunmen, the Linji, and the Fayan are in great abundance. But the Guiyang [family] has already become extinct, and the Caodong barely exists, feeble like a lonely spring during a great drought. But the prosperity and decline of the different traditions has nothing to do with the strength and weakness of their dharma. It seems to be a question of whether they can get people in the transmission to the next generation. Has it not been written: "If there are no people, the Way cannot be practiced with no one there"?[66]

As noted above, *jia,* which most fundamentally means "family," is commonly translated as "house" in this context, but the more literal translation reflects the situation much more accurately: the split between the five *jia* did not involve doctrinal disputes; rather, different families, ultimately part of the same clan, were contending among one another, and in the outsider perspective Qisong adopted, they were all equal in terms of their teachings. I shall return to a discussion of this note in chapter 4.

The next explicit reference to the scheme of five traditions that can be

found in a Northern Song source is in the emperor Huizong's preface to the *Xudeng lu*. The *Xudeng lu* was compiled by the Yunmen master Foguo Weibai (d.u.), and the work centers on the Yunmen and Linji lineages. The first part of the work records these lineages and puts them side by side, in each generation listing first heirs in the Yunmen tradition and then heirs in the Linji tradition. After twenty-five fascicles of this, the *Xudeng lu* devotes one fascicle to the Caodong and Fayan traditions.[67] No descendants in the by then defunct Guiyang tradition are listed. The *Xudeng lu* gives a good indication of the relative fortunes of the various Chan traditions at the end of the eleventh century. The lineages are very much up-to-date, and several of the masters in the last generations were still alive when the work was published. The *Xudeng lu* also indicates the continuing power of the Linji tradition: Weibai obviously felt he had to give the Linji tradition a place almost equal to that of his own Yunmen tradition.

There is one more reference to the notion of five traditions of Chan in a Northern Song source. It is found in a preface to a work by the scholar-monk Juefan Huihong (1071–1128), the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* (Chronicle of the saṃgha treasure in the groves of Chan [monasteries]; hereafter *Sengbao zhuan*), written by the literatus Hou Yanqing (active 1115–1145). The preface is dated 1124, and in it Huihong is quoted as referring to the scheme of five traditions of Chan.[68]

It is clear that after the appearance of the *Chuandeng lu,* the notion of five discrete traditions of Chan became part of the Chan school's identity, both as an understanding of the overall organization of the Chan school and as a part of individual Chan masters' self-identification. Every member of the greater Chan transmission family in the Song could identify him or herself as a member of one of these five sublineages, which linked them directly to masters included in the *Chuandeng lu.* No one in Song Chan could claim to be a legitimate lineage holder without such a link.

As this brief overview has shown, competition did exist between the different Chan traditions. Yet the fact that explicit references to the notion of five different Chan traditions are made so rarely in Northern Song Chan sources seems significant. Somehow, in spite of the evidence presented above, most individuals associated with or interested in the Chan school were not especially preoccupied with the issue of the specific Chan traditions, and it seems clear that the various Chan transmission families chose not to dwell on their differences. If Chan monks had identified themselves strongly with their particular lineages, the names of the traditions would surely have cropped up in collections of recorded sayings, epitaphs, and other sources. Even when there were disagreements about emphasis in Chan teaching and practice, it was acknowledged that all Chan had the same goal and descended from the same lineage of enlightenment that Huineng had founded. Furthermore, there are countless references to interactions between Chan masters from different traditions, examples of students who studied with Chan masters from various traditions and held monastic office

under Chan masters from traditions other than their own, and instances of literati who were friends with and supported masters from several different traditions. Every explicit reference to the system of the five traditions, moreover, contains some statement to the effect that the five are all part of one soteriology. Witness Qisong's remark above, which seems to imply that it is a matter of fate whether a Chan lineage prospers or declines. In his preface to the *Xudeng lu,* Huizong also tempered his emphasis on the Yunmen and Linji traditions with broad praise of all the Chan traditions.

The point I wish to make is that sectarianism, in the sense of different factions of Chan disputing the authenticity of one another's teachings and practices, was largely absent from Northern Song Chan. Thus, in a passage in which Huihong discusses a somewhat controversial claim that the Yunmen and Linji traditions descended from the same ancestors, addressed in chapter 6, he approvingly notes that this common ancestry makes the contention between the two traditions "laughable."[69] This strongly suggests that Huihong did not think that the competition between the traditions was based on different interpretations of the Chan teachings or different forms of practice, but rather on different family loyalties.

One other significant lineage distinction appeared in the Northern Song. By the beginning of the twelfth century, successful masters in the Linji tradition could all trace themselves back to one of two disciples of Shishuang Chuyuan (986–1039), namely, Huanglong Huinan (1002–1069) or Yangqi Fanghui (992–1049). This gave rise to a notion of "five families and seven traditions" (*wujia qizong*), the "seven traditions" meaning the five families plus the Huanglong branch (Huanglong *pai*) and the Yangqi branch (Yangqi *pai*) of the Linji tradition. This scheme is often referred to in the secondary literature on Linji Chan, and, as with the notion of the five houses, the assumption is that different styles of teaching can be associated with each branch. Largely, it would seem, because the prolific writer Juefan Huihong was in the Huanglong branch and Dahui Zonggao, the inventor of kanhua Chan, was in the Yangqi branch, the first is associated with a literary approach to Chan, while the latter is associated with a more practice-oriented approach centered on gongan use. The significance of this scheme is highly overestimated, however. The only instance in all of Song-dynasty literature of the phrase "five families and seven traditions" that I have been able to find is in the recorded sayings of Yuanwu Keqin (1063–1135), who used it once.[70] Furthermore, the expression "Huanglong *pai*" cannot be found anywhere in Song literature, while the earliest instance of "Yangqi *pai*" is in the 1204 *Jiatai pudeng lu* (Comprehensive record of the [transmission of] the lamp from the Jiatai era [1201–1205]; hereafter *Pudeng lu*) in the section on Guoqing Xingji (d.u.), who was a second-generation descendant of Yuanwu Keqin.[71]

In conclusion, I believe we have to reject the model of Chan studies that assumes a strong factional or sectarian awareness among different schools of Chan throughout the Northern Song based on distinct doctrinal positions

or teaching styles. Available sources do not seem to support such an understanding. Acknowledging this lack of factionalism within Chan is important for understanding the full impact of the dispute between silent illumination and kanhua Chan, which for the first time opened up what we might call a true sectarian division in Chan, as later chapters will show.

The Song Literati and Buddhism

The Song dynasty followed the long and glorious Tang dynasty, which had ended in chaos, splitting the empire into a jumble of competing states that rapidly succeeded each other in the period known as the Five Dynasties (Wudai, 907–960). The Song reunited an empire that had been unstable for a long time, but its borders were never very secure. Several non-Chinese states to the north that had adopted a Chinese-style internal power structure established viable state societies from the tenth century. Almost from the beginning of the Song, they threatened the dynasty's borders with great military strength and succeeded in blackmailing the Chinese government into buying an unstable peace. This situation eventually led to the loss of northern China to the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234) in 1127, a crushing and humiliating defeat for the Song dynasty, which only barely managed to reestablish itself in the South. The period after the loss of the North is known as the Southern Song (Nan Song, 1127–1279), while the earlier part of the Song is known as the Northern Song (Bei Song, 960–1127). The Song dynasty ended when Mongol forces swept through Asia and, after the Song court had unwisely made an alliance with the Mongols to get rid of the Jin, annihilated the Song dynasty and founded the Yuan (1279–1368).

The Song dynasty has long been recognized as a time in Chinese history when great change and innovation took place. During this period, China developed a centralized state, a national economy, and lively and bustling cities, and it also made great advances in the realm of technology and developed new directions in culture. A wide range of new discoveries were made in seafaring, agriculture, and warfare; printing techniques made it possible to spread information and new ideas rapidly; and a curiosity in every realm of knowledge led to many advances in the natural sciences, mathematics, and technology, as well as in the arts, philosophy, philology, and archaeology.[72]

The Song founder, known as Taizu (r. 960–976), was a general who came to power by overthrowing the ruler of the house he was serving, and he quickly put the central part of what had been the Tang empire under his control. Knowing firsthand how easily military men can turn against their rulers, he and the later Song emperors followed a policy that in practice favored civilian leadership and cultural pursuits over military matters.[73] With the powerful noble families that held great regional power under the Tang gone, the Song nurtured a class of educated elite from which administrators for the empire's many levels of bureaucracy were drawn, partly

through civil service examinations. This elite was known as the *shidafu,* which literally means "educated men and officials" but in English is usually translated "literati" or "scholar-officials," and it was enormously important in Song society. The literati was a somewhat amorphous group, with no clearly defined membership criteria. It included anyone who held government office, but also those who aspired to office, who owned and read books, who had at least some education in the Confucian scholarly tradition, or who interacted with other people who were considered to be literati.[74] Naturally, there were status differences within the literati as a group, with illustrious families that had long traditions of producing high-ranking officials at the top. In the Northern Song, high court offices tended to be dominated by members of a "capital elite" consisting of literati families who had settled in Kaifeng. In the transition to the Southern Song, this segment of the elite became dispersed, but something like a "national elite" emerged instead: families with many members who received high office, who tended to ally themselves through marriage with other such families, and who set high expectations for the careers of their descendants.[75] Nevertheless, there was considerable social mobility within the literati segment of society, and the examination system made it possible for families of little renown to occasionally produce officials at the highest level of government. Throughout the Song, there were also wealthy families that managed to gain literati status through the education of their sons and marriage into established literati families.[76] Downward mobility was also an ever-present threat, and literati families often had to struggle and resort to various strategies to maintain their status. Thus, there were no clear boundaries delineating strata within the literati, nor even literati from nonliterati.

Song dynasty intellectual history is best known for the development in Confucian thought known in English as Neo-Confucianism. This was a broad movement of new ideas based on creative reinterpretations of ancient Confucian texts and idealized visions of traditional institutions that became especially prominent in Southern Song elite culture. The Neo-Confucians found in their ancient heritage a spiritual teaching that emphasized self-cultivation with a metaphysics that they felt could rival and supplant that of Buddhism. The dismissive view of post-Tang Buddhism that I referred to in the introduction holds that in the Song and later, the creative energies of the educated elite shifted away from Buddhism toward Neo-Confucianism.[77] The literati, whose members are commonly classified as "Confucians" in Western scholarship, are thought as a group to have considered Buddhism a harmful teaching that had to be vigorously refuted. According to this view, Buddhism lost the patronage of literati, especially in the Southern Song.[78]

Contrary to the notion that the Song literati as a social group were staunch anti-Buddhist Neo-Confucians, however, indications are that the vast majority of the educated elite did not consider Buddhism a foreign "other," but rather saw Buddhist teachings as essentially in harmony with the worldview of their social class. It is true that certain anti-Buddhist senti-

ments often are expressed in Song-dynasty official documents, examination essays, and so on. Yet many of the literati that are associated with such statements are also known to have patronized Buddhist monks, participated in Buddhist rituals, and actively engaged in the study of Buddhism. Although many members of the educated elite do seem to have had ambivalent feelings toward Buddhism, writings criticizing Buddhism had simply become part of the literary repertoire that a member of the educated elite was expected to be adept in—perhaps due to the influence of the vigorous anti-Buddhist writings of the famous early Confucian classicist Han Yu (768–824). That many literati showed a great interest in Buddhism, and especially Chan Buddhism, is apparent in writings from throughout the Song. An interesting undated letter from the famous, and later much maligned, statesman-reformer Wang Anshi (1021–1086) to the literatus Zeng Gong (1019–1083) illustrates this. Apparently, in an earlier letter, Wang had asked Zeng if he had lately had much time to read *jing* (scripture), meaning by this the Confucian classics. However, Zeng understood the word *jing* to refer to Buddhist scripture and wrote back lecturing Wang on the unhealthy influence of Buddhism, forcing Wang to explain what he had meant.[79] This rather amusing misunderstanding shows how unexceptional it must have been for even the elite of the highest status to study Buddhist texts, as well as how scholars like Zeng Gong who worried about the influence of Buddhism could not take for granted that their peers shared their concerns.[80] Wang Anshi was an advocate of government activism, and in his essays he repeatedly objected to Buddhist and Daoist teachings on the ground that they lead to disengagement from society.[81] Nevertheless, Wang is known to have had a strong interest in Buddhism, and late in life he wrote several now-lost commentaries on Buddhist sūtras (raising the interesting possibility that he did in fact mean "Buddhist scripture" when he wrote to Zeng). In 1084, shortly before his death, he secured permission from the court to turn his estate into a Buddhist monastery.[82] Even Zeng Gong could not in the end escape Buddhism; when he died, he was buried at a Buddhist monastery that his brother had arranged to have officially declared a grave monastery (*fensi;* also known as a "merit monastery," *gongde si*) for the family.[83] Such Buddhist grave monasteries were widely used by the educated elite to care for the graves and spirits of deceased family members,[84] and Zeng himself likely arranged for this to be his final resting place.

In the Southern Song, when Neo-Confucianism became organized and further developed by the deeply anti-Buddhist thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200), anti-Buddhist rhetoric intensified. However, the repugnance for Buddhism that someone like Zhu Xi and his close followers expressed cannot be understood as emblematic of Song literati culture. Like many great thinkers, Zhu Xi was highly influential in his age but not typical of it, and his views on Buddhism were clearly not shared by most of the elite.[85] In fact, Zhu Xi's own complaints about Buddhism give one indication of how popular it was, even among the literati, as when he laments, "Lately we see that all sorts of

people, be they adults or children, officials, farmers, or merchants, men or women, all enter the Buddhist gates."[86] The literati class in fact produced many Buddhist monks, and evidence suggests that the majority of well-known monks in the Song came from literati families. Thus, the literatus Yuan Cai (ca. 1140–1190) stated in his instruction manual for his family that if a person of the literati class could not succeed as an official or a scholar, one of several perfectly respectable alternatives would be to become a Buddhist monk.[87]

The important point here is that we have to understand Buddhism, and Chan Buddhism in particular, as an integral part of the intellectual environment of the Song-dynasty literati class. An educated person in the Song could no more ignore Buddhism and its teachings than an intellectual in modern Europe can ignore the historical and cultural impact of Christianity.[88] Furthermore, although the subject cannot be fully explored in this book, many Song literati had extremely broad intellectual and religious interests and felt free to involve themselves in all teachings available to them. This included the study of various Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian writings, but also, often, direct involvement in séances with spirit mediums, expulsion of demons, and other such religious activities not usually associated with the elite.[89] It seems clear that the vast majority of literati saw no inherent contradictions between what might otherwise be considered different religious systems, and we need not be surprised that someone like Wang Anshi showed an active interest in Buddhism in spite of his writings criticizing it. Discussions sometimes found in scholarly writings about whether Wang "converted" to Buddhism at some point or whether certain literati had embraced the "Buddhist faith" give the erroneous impression of an exclusivist choice, when in fact few literati seem to have felt any need to assume monolithic adherence to a specific religious or intellectual tradition. The Buddhist monastic elite in the Song likewise saw Confucian, as well as Daoist, teachings as compatible with and complementary to Buddhism, and monastics, just like the secular elite, largely accepted the notion that the three teachings supported each other like the three legs of a *ding* (tripod) vessel. The emperor Xiaozong (r. 1162–1189) even wrote a widely known essay endorsing this view.[90]

Furthermore, it is also a misconception to see Buddhist monks and nuns as somehow largely irrelevant to the study of Song culture due to their separation from the rest of Song society. Much evidence exists to show that the worldviews of the literati and the Buddhist monastic elite were largely coextensive.[91] Although becoming a Buddhist monastic was described as "leaving home" (*chu jia*), there are many indications that monks and nuns kept up close relations with their natal families. Thus, monk Changlu Zongze (d.u.), the well-known author of a Chan monastic code, is said to have installed his aged mother in a room next to the abbot's quarters,[92] the Caodong reviver Furong Daokai went to stay at his ancestral village because of his father's old age,[93] and the famous Linji master Yuanwu Keqin returned

to Sichuan to take care of his mother.[94] I shall seek to further demonstrate throughout this book that Chan Buddhism cannot be understood as separate from secular elite culture.

Chan in the Song must be seen as an integral part of society, and in the next two chapters, I shall explore the impact of government policies on the Song Chan school and the importance of the support of secular officials and scholars to the success of individual Chan lineages.

CHAPTER 2
The Chan School and the Song State

In 955, the Latter Zhou (Hou Zhou, 951–960) began a vigorous suppression of Buddhism when the emperor Shizong (r. 954–959) ordered all monasteries in his realm that lacked an imperially bestowed name plaque destroyed.[1] Records indicate that 30,336 monasteries were dismantled, while only 2,694 were spared.[2] A couple of years later, one of the Latter Zhou generals rebelled, and in 960 he successfully set up his own dynasty, the Song, and became known to posterity as the emperor Taizu. Immediately after Taizu came to power, he issued an edict modifying the Latter Zhou decree to exclude old and merit-producing monasteries in the mountains. Other monasteries, however, were to be dismantled as originally decreed.[3] Shortly afterward, Taizu stopped all destruction of monasteries with another edict but forbade the rebuilding of any dismantled monastery.[4] This ban on building monasteries seems to have been on the books throughout the Song dynasty, although it was widely ignored and apparently rarely enforced.[5]

Taizu's early decrees about Buddhism are indicative of the ambivalence that came to characterize the Song dynasty's policies toward it. On the one hand, the Song court saw Buddhism as a potential threat to the state in various ways and sought to limit and control it, while on the other hand the rulers actively supported and encouraged the growth of Buddhist institutions and clergy so that they could reap the powerful benefits that Buddhism was thought to produce for their dynasty and for themselves personally. And while most Song emperors sought to distance themselves from the Buddhist establishment, it is also clear that on a personal level a number of them, like so many members of the educated elite, found Buddhism to offer tantalizing, even satisfying, religious and philosophical ideas and practices.[6]

Buddhism was thought to offer the imperial court a number of benefits. Ancient Chinese ideas about the relationship between the realm of humans and the realm of the supernatural considered the activities of dedicated religious specialists, along with the existence of religious scriptures, edifices, and artifacts, to make important contributions to the harmonization of the earthly with the celestial, creating peace and prosperity in the human sphere. Although Buddhism was a foreign religion, it was generally under-

stood to possess powerful access to the supernatural forces of the universe, and the elite monastics and monasteries that the imperial government especially supported were imbued with enormous charisma. As noted earlier, famous monks of illustrious lineages were recognized as a kind of living Buddhas, and the existence of a grand monastery was thought to bestow great benefits on its local community as well as on the whole empire. Prayers for the prosperity of the state and for the long life of the emperor were important functions of all monasteries.[7] The birthdays and death days of emperors were commemorated at local Buddhist monasteries throughout the empire.[8] When the emperor was ill or the empire or a local area was threatened in some way, as by a drought, Buddhist monks would perform special magical rituals to alleviate the situation.[9] As contemporary mainland Chinese writers are quick to point out, moreover, the Song court was no doubt aware of the value of Buddhism in teaching "morality" to the suffering populace and giving them hope for a better existence in the next life, deflecting social tension that might otherwise have led to dangerous unrest.[10]

The imperial government therefore patronized and involved itself with monastic Buddhism in a number of different ways. Famous monasteries were given money or grants of goods and land, and illustrious monks were invited to court and honored with the bestowal of purple robes and honorific names. The state was actively engaged in the translation of Buddhist scriptures, as well as in the compiling and printing of the Buddhist canon.[11] Specially constructed Buddhist monasteries were charged with taking care of the imperial tombs, and a monastery was erected on the site of the birthplace of Taizu—and later at the birthplaces of other emperors, too.[12] Buddhist monasteries were even set up at several landmarks associated with the establishment of the Song dynasty.[13] A number of monasteries contained portraits or statues of emperors and empresses for worship, and inscriptions at Buddhist sites frequently compared emperors to famous monks or bodhisattvas.[14]

Although the Song state understood the presence of Buddhist clergy and monasteries to provide an important contribution to dynastic peace and prosperity, it also saw Buddhism as a potential threat, and so the state felt a strong need to regulate the saṃgha and to ensure that only "pure" monks and nuns were part of it. Like previous dynasties, the Song was extremely hostile toward unregulated religious groups, and any group deemed heterodox risked severe persecution.[15] The state feared that such religious groups would disrupt public order, threaten its authority, corrupt people's morals, and, most importantly, become sources of rebellion.[16] Any Buddhist group that appeared deviant was persecuted by the state and decried by the Buddhist establishment. Mainstream Buddhist monasticism was tolerated and supported exactly because of its close ties with the government, its elite's participation in literati culture, and its reassuring aloofness from the common people. Even so, the Song state never completely lost its suspicion of the great economic and social power of Buddhism and often worried about

the large number of monks and nuns, whom it tended to view as nonproductive. So, for all its patronage, the Song state imposed wide-ranging rules and restrictions on monastic Buddhism.

State control of Buddhism has a long history in China, as it does elsewhere in the Buddhist world. But greater centralization in the Song, together with a more evolved bureaucracy and a political will to bring all institutions under state control, caused Buddhism to be regulated by the Song government to a degree that was almost unprecedented. The state tried to control all aspects of Buddhism: its teachings and rituals, the texts that were included in its canon, the ordination of monks and nuns, the building and expansion of monasteries, how monasteries were run, how the succession of monastic leadership took place, and more. Severe punishments were written into the penal code for those who ignored or violated the rules. These strictures on the Buddhist establishment were considerable, though comparable to the rules in place for Daoism and the rest of Song society.[17]

On the whole, however, the Song government's policies were highly beneficial to monastic Buddhism. Buddhism was allowed to expand significantly: numerous new monasteries were built, and the population of monks and nuns increased greatly, at least in the beginning of the dynasty.[18] Many monasteries became extremely wealthy through land grants from the state and affluent families, and monasteries were major landowners in many areas.[19] Larger monasteries were also able to accrue wealth through commercial enterprises, such as milling and money-lending.[20]

The elite Buddhist clergy remained ambivalent about the state's involvement with Buddhism. While elite monastics were very aware of the benefits of state patronage, many seem to have felt oppressed by the tight state controls and to have resented the implied message that monastic Buddhism's main raison d'être was the merit it earned for the emperor and the state. Some Chinese clergy even openly voiced their dissatisfaction, including the famous scholar-monk Qisong, who fearlessly wrote an essay complaining about the fact that monks were governed by secular law rather than by monastic law.[21] Traveling in China in 1072, the Japanese monk Jōjin (1011–1081) reported both lavish Buddhist rituals at the Chinese court and strict regulations for monastic Buddhism, and in his diary he transcribed a note from a monk asking him to petition the emperor to lift cumbersome travel restrictions for monastics and revise the rule that postulants had to be at least twenty years old (on the ground that it is too hard to start learning at this age).[22] But, in general, most of the elite Buddhist clergy seem to have accepted and even embraced the Song state's control measures. The elite clergy was eager to show itself as supportive of the ruling powers; in any case, the great majority of elite monastics seem to have come from literati families and largely shared the worldview of the educated secular elite.

The Chan school prospered in the Song and became the dominant force in elite monastic Buddhism early on in the dynasty. The rise of the Chan school is the best-known and most visible development in Song-

dynasty Buddhism; however, the process by which this took place has not been well understood. To move toward a deeper understanding of how the Chan school came to occupy its powerful position in the Song, it is imperative that we place the development of the Chan school in the context of the Song government's general policies toward Buddhism.[23]

The Granting of Name Plaques and Registration of Monasteries

At least as far back as the Sui (581–618) and the Tang dynasties, the government had kept registers of approved monasteries. Strictly speaking, only the monasteries on the registers were legal. Although unregistered monasteries seem to have been largely tolerated, the distinction between officially recognized, or approved, monasteries and unrecognized monasteries was an important one. Unapproved monasteries were always at risk of being purged, although otherwise they had the advantage of being largely outside government control.[24]

Even older than the practice of registering monasteries was the practice of bestowing imperial name plaques (*e*) on certain illustrious monasteries. There is evidence of this practice as far back as the Northern Wei (Bei Wei, 386–534).[25] The granting of an imperial name plaque was an honor reserved for large and important monasteries, a recognition that gave them a special status and a special link to the state. By bestowing plaques on particular monasteries, the imperial government could directly harness the magical power and blessings these monasteries were thought to generate and accrue merit for the emperor and the empire. In the Tang, a number of the most important of the registered monasteries were granted imperial name plaques.[26] Monasteries with a name plaque enjoyed protection from those who wished to suppress Buddhism, while monasteries that were merely on the approved list did not have the same degree of protection.[27] During the initial stages of the notorious Huichang (841–847) suppression of Buddhism, for example, when the government issued an edict ordering the dismantling of various types of Buddhist establishments, it explicitly exempted those with a name plaque.[28] Likewise, owning a name plaque became crucial to monasteries' survival during the suppression of Buddhism in 955 under the Latter Zhou, when those without plaques were ordered to be destroyed. Thus, the plaques provided monasteries with a large measure of security, in addition to obvious prestige.

The Song government was aware of the strong positive connotations the granting of name plaques had for the clergy, and early on it began to grant plaques to large numbers of monasteries. This policy appears to have reflected a wish to broadly honor monasteries of some distinction and increase the merit of the dynasty, but granting plaques also came to serve as a method of registration and, ultimately, control.[29] Thus, plaque granting became central to the Northern Song policy of tolerating and even encouraging

the growth of monastic Buddhism while at the same time seeking to keep it in check. The second Song emperor, Taizong (r. 976–997), granted plaques to monasteries in large numbers. Plaque granting continued throughout the Northern Song and at a much reduced scale in the Southern Song, but it was especially during the reigns of Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Yingzong (r. 1063–1067) that the state bestowed the plaques on a large scale.[30] To be eligible for a plaque, a monastery's buildings had to contain a total of thirty bays or more (a "bay" is the space between two pillars; thirty is a fairly modest requirement); local officials were charged with identifying monasteries that were eligible.[31] Numerous smaller monasteries of mainly local significance were therefore granted plaques, whereas prior to the Song only especially illustrious or imperially favored monasteries were so honored.

Two decrees issued by Zhenzong help clarify the nature of imperial plaque granting and illustrate the Song rulers' ambivalent attitudes toward monastic Buddhism. In 1018, Zhenzong responded to allegations that bandits were often gathering at monasteries that did not have plaques and were causing unrest in rural communities by ordering all monasteries without a plaque destroyed, stressing that no privately built monastery, even of only one bay, would be allowed to exist. Soon after, Zhenzong issued another edict allowing the continued existence of monasteries without a plaque if they had more than thirty bays, a Buddha statue, and an abbot in residence. Well-kept monasteries with fewer than thirty bays that were situated at famous mountains or exalted hermitages were also to be exempt from destruction. The edict ends by reiterating the ongoing ban on building new monasteries.[32] Although it does not mention anything about granting the exempted monasteries name plaques, it seems clear that it was exactly this kind of monastery that could be granted a plaque: in addition to functioning monasteries of more than thirty bays, smaller monasteries of importance were also eligible. The decree demonstrates the government's support of the continued existence of those monasteries that were felt to be sources of blessings and also illustrates its concern that unregistered monasteries might become centers for bad elements.

Plaqueless monasteries seem to have flourished despite such edicts, however, and the government's orders of destruction seem to have been commonly disregarded by local authorities, who were familiar with the smaller monasteries in their areas.[33] The central government seems to have largely tolerated the situation.[34] The decrees that no new monasteries could be built were also widely ignored; throughout the Northern Song, monasteries that qualified for name plaques by having more than thirty bays continued to appear, and a number of sources mention the founding of new monasteries in both the Northern and Southern Song.[35]

The Northern Song government's policy of granting plaques to all monasteries of importance, and thus both honoring them and bringing them under the central government's sphere of control, was highly successful, and those in charge of monasteries petitioned for plaques with great en-

thusiasm. A large number of monasteries were registered through plaque granting during the Northern Song, and it seems that state policies allowed the number of monasteries to grow dramatically. The scholar Jiang Xiufu (1005–1060) reports in a note that can be dated to about 1059 that there were 39,000 registered Buddhist monasteries in the empire, up from 25,000 fifty years earlier.[36] A source from about ten years later places the total number of Buddhist and Daoist monasteries at 41,200.[37] Since these numbers do not include unregistered monasteries, the real number must have been considerably higher.

Perhaps because the growing number of monasteries started to worry the government, the granting of new plaques began to slow down considerably after the reign of the emperor Shenzong (r. 1067–1085). It also appears to have been during Shenzong's reign that the Song government first started to sell ordination certificates, and it is possible that it was alerted to this source of income by the large number of monasteries.[38] In any case, the reluctance to grant new plaques lasted through the end of the Song dynasty. During the Southern Song, it became common for the government to transfer plaques from defunct monasteries rather than to grant new ones.[39] It also seems that fewer monasteries were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the large-scale granting of plaques may no longer have been deemed necessary. In any case, the fact that so few plaques were granted after the eleventh century is an indication of a relative decline in the fortunes of elite monastic Buddhism. I will return to this point at the end of the chapter.

Hereditary Monasteries versus Public Monasteries

The Song government's plaque-granting policies facilitated an entirely new way of regulating Buddhist monasteries, one that had a profound impact on the further development of the Chan school and all of Buddhism in China. This was the system of classifying monasteries into two main groups: "hereditary monasteries" (*jiayi,* or "succession monasteries," also known as *tudi,* "disciple," or *dudi,* "ordained disciple," monasteries) and "public monasteries" (*shifang,* or "ten directions" monasteries).[40]

A hereditary monastery was recognized by the state as the de facto legal property of the monks or nuns living there. The residents of a hereditary monastery were bound together in a "tonsure family"[41] based on the relationship that was formed when a senior monastic sponsored the tonsure of a novice entering the Buddhist order. The novice would become part of the tonsure family associated with the monastery in which the sponsor resided and would enter into a complex and lifelong web of rights and obligations with the other members of the tonsure family.[42] Hereditary monasteries were "private" in the sense that the abbacy and monastic offices were passed down through the tonsure family only. Through its control of the abbacy and the other offices, the tonsure family retained property rights

to the monastery and its holdings, because the abbot and his officers were the only ones who could make decisions about it. Members of a hereditary monastery's tonsure family had the right to live there for their entire lives, while outsiders associated with other monasteries had no such right. In the Song, the hereditary monasteries that housed tonsure families were mostly small to medium sized, though some may have been very large, and many must have owned land and other property. Most were local in the sense that they served the population of a particular local area, although they were probably also often in competition with one another. It seems that prior to the Song most monasteries were in some sense hereditary. It was only in the Song, however, that hereditary monasteries acquired a specific legal status that recognized the tonsure family's rights to its monastery. This legal status no doubt offered the tonsure families in hereditary monasteries some protection against those who might try to usurp their property. But it also greatly facilitated government control and made it possible for the state to set down and enforce rules about many aspects of life in hereditary monasteries.

An important source for the study of Song legislation on monastic Buddhism is the section on Buddhism and Daoism of the Song law compendium, the *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* (Classified law paragraphs of the Qingyuan era [1195–1201]; hereafter *Tiaofa shilei*).[43] The *Tiaofa shilei* is the only extant (although incomplete) Song law manual. Even though it dates from the late Southern Song, many of the regulations it contains are clearly of long standing, and some of those in the Buddhism and Daoism section were long outdated by the Qingyuan period. Even so, the validity of a number of the regulations concerning monastic Buddhism found in the *Tiaofa shilei* is indirectly confirmed by other sources, and although its rules no doubt were not always enforced, the *Tiaofa shilei* clearly reflects policies that had an enormous and long-lasting impact on monastic organization.

In the *Tiaofa shilei,* rules for the passing down of the abbacy in a hereditary monastery are explicated in detail. When the abbot of such a monastery died or stepped down, the abbacy was to be passed on to one of his dharma brothers (the other tonsure disciples of his master) according to their order in the lineage—that is, according to their seniority based on date of ordination. If there were no dharma brothers available, the abbacy was to be passed along to one of the retiring abbot's disciples or to one of his dharma brothers' disciples, also in accordance with seniority.[44] In this way, everybody in each generation had a chance, at least theoretically, to succeed to the abbacy, and only when one generation had been exhausted would the abbacy be passed on to the next generation. It would seem that the abbacy of a hereditary monastery was often held by one person until he passed away, so many members of big tonsure families did not live long enough to succeed to it. A senior monk who had little chance of obtaining the abbacy in his tonsure family's monastery might, however, have had the option of becoming the abbot of one of the many new monasteries founded

during the Song. It seems the *Tiaofa shilei* refers to this kind of situation when it notes that in monasteries where no patriarchy had been established (*fei zushi yingzhi zhe*), the abbacy was to be passed on to a disciple of the retiring abbot; only if there were no disciples would it be passed on to one of his dharma brothers.[45]

A monk capable of taking over a vacant abbacy was obviously not always available from within the tonsure family. A note in the *Tiaofa shilei* says that in such a situation, if there were a worthy, well-esteemed monk whom the congregation wished to have as abbot, they could present him to the authorities to have him installed in the position.[46] This may well refer to situations in which no one in the tonsure family was ready to take over the abbacy, as would have been the case if everyone in line for the abbacy was underage. But it may also refer to a situation in which the tonsure family of a hereditary monastery decided to have it converted to a public one. Such conversions happened frequently, as I discuss below, although it was no doubt very rare that a tonsure family actually took the initiative to petition for the change.

The *Tiaofa shilei* further states that only those who were actively involved with the affairs of their hereditary monastery could be appointed to its abbacy. Those who had been away from the monastery for more than half a year or who were not actually fulfilling the duties of their positions were not allowed to take over an abbacy, even if they were in line for it.[47] It also specifies that, in most cases, those who had been punished for crimes could not succeed to an abbacy.[48] Finally, and very significantly, once the abbot of a hereditary monastery had been selected, the authorities had to approve him before he could be installed in the position.[49]

Thus, although the Song state recognized the rights of the tonsure family to control the abbacy of its monastery, it nonetheless set down very strict rules for how the succession was to take place, and it controlled who, in effect, could occupy the abbacy. The requirement that only those who actively took part in the life of a monastery could become its abbot helped ensure that the governing of monasteries remained a local affair and thus was easier to supervise. It also served to tie monastics more closely to their monasteries. Since all appointments had to be approved by officials, local authorities could find plenty of opportunities to intervene in various ways and to ensure that no undesirable person occupied an abbacy in their area of jurisdiction. Hereditary monasteries were probably supposed to apply to the government to have their status officially approved.[50] This seems to have been done only rarely, however; at least, there are very few records of such applications. The understanding, no doubt, was that if a monastery was not categorized as public, it was automatically considered hereditary.[51]

The *Tiaofa shilei* introduces its rules for hereditary monasteries as directed to "all nonpublic" monasteries, indicating that the category of public abbacies was the more prominent in the system of monastic classification and was its main innovation. Public monasteries were very different from their hereditary counterparts. Public monasteries had no connection to any

tonsure families, and in principle any monastic of good standing could live and hold office in them. Abbots at public monasteries were to be chosen from the best candidates available, usually from outside the monastery. An abbot's own tonsure disciples were not allowed to succeed him to the abbacy at a public monastery, a rule that prevented public monasteries from reverting to a hereditary system by default.[52]

It was only in the Song that public monasteries became a legal and well-defined category, although monasteries of a similar type must have existed much earlier. According to the monk Falin (572–640), under the Northern Wei, there were three kinds of monasteries: official monasteries sponsored by the state, of which there were 47; private monasteries sponsored by nobles and rich families, of which there were 839; and monasteries of the common people, which numbered more than 30,000.[53] We can probably assume that the system was similar (if not the numbers) during most of the Tang. Like the public monasteries of the Song, the official monasteries had their leaders appointed by the court and were given imperial plaques; their small number, however, puts them in an altogether different category.[54]

Most, and perhaps all, public monasteries in the Song were associated with the transmission lineages of specific schools of monastic Buddhism. Public monasteries were officially designated either Chan or Tiantai (or, later, Huayan or Vinaya) and only those who were members of transmission families in the specified school and held proof of their transmission could serve as their abbots. Public monasteries were often very large, held huge amounts of land, and received imperial grants as well as financial and political support from members of the educated elite. They were perceived as highly beneficial to the state and closely associated with it; in fact, they were seen as a kind of state institution, and their abbots were treated very much like government officials. Eventually, almost all famous monasteries became classified as public.

The more open nature of public monasteries made them very accessible to the outside world. Many of them hosted travelers and touring officials such as Lu You (1125–1210), who in 1170 journeyed with his family from Zhejiang to a new post in Sichuan, a trip that lasted 157 days, and in his diary frequently mentioned staying or dining at monasteries or using monastery facilities to moor his boat.[55] Some monasteries were even specifically set up to accommodate travelers.[56] Marketplaces often sprung up, or perhaps were designated, at large public monasteries in more populated areas, such as the Xiangguo monastery in Kaifeng, and the monasteries themselves were popular destinations for the outings of commoners and elite alike.[57] Some literati rented apartments for their families or lived at public monasteries while they studied for the civil service exams.[58] The examinations themselves were sometimes held in public monasteries.[59]

Like the hereditary monasteries, public monasteries were led by a single abbot. But at public monasteries, the abbot was also a spiritual leader of enormous charisma and influence. The abbot of a public institution ex-

ercised substantial power over his monastery, where he was the ultimate authority in all matters, whether spiritual, practical, or financial. Although a system of monastic officers afforded some checks and balances, the wide extent of the abbot's powers is witnessed in the fact that some abbots used their positions to enrich themselves at the expense of their monasteries.[60] Abbots at public monasteries often only served for a few years before moving to a new post at another monastery, and, unlike the abbots of hereditary monasteries, they usually had no special personal or emotional connections to the monasteries where they held office. Financial abuse by abbots became such a problem at the end of the Song that many public monasteries reverted to a hereditary system, in spite of the laws that threatened severe penalties for this.[61]

The *Tiaofa shilei* contains an interesting description of how the abbot of a public monastery was to be selected. According to this, prefectural authorities were to charge the local Buddhist registry with arranging a meeting of all the abbots of public monasteries in the area (probably the whole prefecture). The abbots were to select someone to fill the vacant abbacy who had been a monk for many years, who was accomplished in conduct and study, and who was held in high esteem by other monks. The prefectural authorities would then investigate the abbots' choice and, if satisfied, confirm the appointment. If the gathered abbots could not come up with a recommendation, the authorities would select a monk from another area who was held in high regard and was not known to have committed any crime or have other blemishes on his record.[62] A similar process is described in the Chan monastic code from 1103, the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Rules of purity for Chan monasteries), and in the Yuan-dynasty code, the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* (Baizhang's rules of purity, revised by imperial order).[63] Although we have evidence that this system was at least partially followed, in many cases it was also frequently ignored—increasingly so through the Song. As the next chapter will discuss in greater detail, a wealth of sources shows that many appointments to the abbacies of public monasteries were made directly by secular authorities, with clergy playing no formal role whatsoever. Such appointments could come directly from the imperial court, in the case of the most famous public monasteries, or they could be made at the provincial level through the request of powerful officials or influential members of the educated elite. I will argue that this mode of appointment had a profound impact on the development of elite Buddhism in the Song.

The system was also circumvented in other ways. At times, secular authorities would demand bribes to install someone in the abbacy at a public monastery or would sell the position outright.[64] Because unscrupulous abbots could exploit the riches of a monastery to their own advantage, buying one's way into an abbacy could be an attractive investment.[65] This kind of practice became institutionalized in Fujian when Zhang Shou (1084–1145),[66] who became the prefect of Fujian in 1132, conferred with the local literati and, as a means of creating revenue, set up a system by which public abba-

cies were auctioned off to the highest bidder. Only the forty-odd top monasteries in Fujian were exempted.[67] Such a system may also have been in place elsewhere.

The Promotion of Public Monasteries in the Song

As open institutions, public monasteries were perceived as both more useful to the state than hereditary monasteries and less of a threat to its authority. Whereas the secular authorities' control over the monastic leadership of hereditary monasteries was limited because the choice of abbot and other monastic officers was mainly determined by rules of succession within the tonsure family, the abbacies of public monasteries were wide open to the control of the state and its officials, regardless of whether the abbot was chosen directly by the court or local authorities, the abbacy was sold to the highest bidder, or the abbot was selected in a process that heavily involved officials. Furthermore, abbots in public monasteries usually held their positions for only a few years, and every time a new abbot was selected, government officials could make their impact felt. For all these reasons, the state had an obvious preference for public monasteries over hereditary monasteries.

Not surprisingly, the number of public monasteries grew dramatically during the Northern Song. This was partly because many new public monasteries were founded during this period, usually with support from powerful officials and local elites. Perhaps even more important, however, were the conversions of existing hereditary monasteries into public ones. Because the Song government had an interest in promoting public monasteries, its laws stipulated severe punishments for those who tried to convert public monasteries into hereditary ones, while it seems it was hardly even necessary to get permission to turn a hereditary monastery into a public one.[68] Extant sources contain numerous references to hereditary monasteries being converted into monasteries with public abbacies.

In principle, a tonsure family had to agree before its hereditary monastery could be converted into a public one. Thus, in a passage concerning the selection of abbots in public monasteries, the *Tiaofa shilei* notes that the rules must be strictly followed even at formerly hereditary monasteries whose "disciples had agreed to change into public."[69] An inscription for the Fuyan monastery in Zhejiang, which became a public monastery in 1050, states several times that its disciples agreed to turn their hereditary monastery into a public one, after which the authorities were petitioned.[70] But the most detailed description of the process is found in Tiantai sources regarding the Yanqing monastery, which the famous Tiantai monk Siming Zhili (960–1028), together with Yiwen (d.u.), petitioned the court to have declared a public monastery dedicated to the Tiantai teachings in 1010.[71] Accompanying Zhili and Yiwen's petition was another petition from six of their personally ordained tonsure disciples, who voiced their support for

the plan.[72] Thus, the monks most likely to have the opportunity to take over the abbacy of the Yanqing monastery under the hereditary system agreed to relinquish their rights to it. It seems clear that the students' agreement not only strengthened the petition but was a formal legal requirement. This policy seems very reasonable: since tonsure disciples were excluded from taking over the abbacy of a public monastery from their tonsure master or even holding an important monastic office there, by agreeing to the conversion, the disciples in line for the abbacy lost their rights to it and probably any chance of ever holding it.[73] In hereditary monasteries, the monastics generally had private quarters and led fairly unrestricted and comfortable lives. Although it seems likely that special arrangements were made for the members of a tonsure family that had its monastery converted to public, no one had an inalienable right to stay in a public monastery, where life was usually much more strictly regulated.

One might well wonder what could persuade members of a tonsure family, particularly those of the younger generation, to give up their monastery for such an uncertain future. In the case of the Yanqing monastery, it seems that the sheer charismatic force of someone like Zhili moved the tonsure disciples to endorse the conversion. But even Zhili and Yiwen were concerned about their tonsure disciples' willingness to give up their rights. They feared that after the two of them were gone, their tonsure disciples might try to claim back the abbacy, causing the Yanqing monastery to revert to the hereditary system. Thus, they asked their tonsure disciples to take an oath stating that the disciples would not take over the abbacy after their masters' deaths, even if one of them was the most qualified person who could be found.[74]

In practice, the conversion of hereditary monasteries into public ones was probably seldom voluntary, but instead the result of great pressure exerted by the state and other forces. Thus, various laws in the *Tiaofa shilei* provide grounds for the state to force the conversion of a hereditary monastery into a public one. One rule states that if an abbot knew that monks in his monastery had committed crimes and did not report them, his monastery could be turned into a public institution.[75] Another establishes that at monasteries where no successor was at hand or that had become dilapidated and had no prospects for revival, the rules for installing an abbot were to be those of a public monastery, implying that such monasteries were to be converted to public ones.[76] A notice in the *Tiaofa shilei* also states that in the Daoist Tianqing monasteries (established by Zhenzong in 1008) and Daoist monasteries at famous mountains or grottoes, abbots of great moral and spiritual accomplishment were to be appointed.[77] This notice seems to imply that such monasteries were to become public no matter what their previous status had been, suggesting that there was a policy in place to ensure that important monasteries and those in famous places all had public abbacies.

These rules gave officials at least some opportunity to legally turn

hereditary monasteries in their jurisdictions into public ones. It is also likely that some tonsure families were pressured into applying to have their monasteries converted to public status. In many cases, however, hereditary monasteries seem to have been forcibly turned into public ones by government officials without any legal justification or consultation with their tonsure families. There are numerous references in Song sources to hereditary monasteries becoming public, and most simply state that a certain official had a monastery changed from hereditary to public status.[78]

Takao Giken has argued that because name plaques were bestowed in such abundance in the Song, they lost their previous importance as emblems of prestige for the monasteries that received them. Instead, Takao asserts, the institution of public abbacies took on the status-giving role that name plaques had held under the Tang, and this led hereditary monasteries to eagerly seek to become public so as to acquire a higher status.[79] However, as discussed earlier, both the bestowal of plaques and the conversion of hereditary monasteries into public ones can be understood as part of a determined effort by the Song government to bring Buddhist monasteries under as much control as possible. While it is true that all the greatest monasteries of the empire were public, this must have been due, at least to a large degree, to the government-enforced conversion of such monasteries. There is no doubt that public monasteries were more prestigious than hereditary ones on the whole or that being the abbot or even a rank-and-file monk at a public institution carried a certain status, but there still could not have been much incentive for a tonsure family to give up control of what was essentially its own property. The sheer number of recorded cases of hereditary monasteries turning into public ones itself seems to indicate that most did not convert voluntarily.

In addition to the state, local elites probably played an important role in such conversions. A text by the literatus Yu Jing (1000–1064) dated to 1038 that describes the succession of abbots at the Puli monastery at Dongshan shows how the elite could bring its influence to bear.[80] According to Yu, the abbacy of this monastery had first been occupied by the founder of the Caodong tradition of Chan, Dongshan Liangjie. In the generations after Liangjie, the abbacy was passed on from master to disciple in what was clearly—although this is not stated—a tonsure relationship. During the Five Dynasties period that followed the collapse of the Tang, this system seems to have been disrupted. When the area came under the control of the Southern Tang regime, the king ordered that a certain monk take up the abbacy. Later, perhaps in the beginning of the Song, another abbot (it is not clear how he came into the position) wanted his disciple to take over the abbacy after him. The text then reports that the *lay supporters* of the monastery objected, and another monk was chosen. The inscription suggests the fluid situation that existed for monasteries during the later, chaotic years of the Tang and the Five Dynasties periods. It would seem that after having been a hereditary monastery, the Puli became public, in the

sense that the Southern Tang ruler determined the successor to the abbacy, and then again hereditary when the power of the Southern Tang collapsed, only to finally become public again when crucial lay supporters stepped in and brought their economic power to bear.

This kind of pattern is likely to have been repeated elsewhere. It was common for rulers of the competing territories in the Five Dynasties period, who were eager to assert their authority and to gain merit from their involvement with Buddhism, to make appointments to the abbacies of important monasteries under their control.[81] This would have disrupted the control the residing tonsure families had over their monasteries, creating what in effect were public abbacies (even though the term seems not to have been in use before the Song). Furthermore, in the strife that followed the fall of the Tang, many monasteries were damaged and robbed, and many also lost their land. This must have caused them to become fully or partially dependent on either state power or local elite lay supporters, and it would have given the elites greater leverage in their relationships with local monasteries. Laypeople, of course, had little reason to favor hereditary monasteries, since the entire control of such monasteries lay with their tonsure families, but both local officials and lay supporters stood to gain from having a prestigious public monastery in their area. When monasteries became more dependent on lay support, lay supporters were able, as in the case above, to influence the choice of abbot and disrupt the hereditary system.

The fluid situation for the classification of monasteries continued into the early Song. Another text by Yu Jing states that in the early tenth century a certain monk was called to fill the abbacy at the Huajie monastery by its congregation, which resulted in the monastery's becoming public.[82] The case of how Zhili and Yiwen came to control the Yanqing monastery also indicates the fluidity of the system in the early Song. Zhili claimed that the Yanqing monastery had originally been turned over to him by its previous abbot, under the condition that it should be a public monastery devoted to Tiantai teachings.[83] It is not clear how the previous abbot could have had the power to pass on the monastery to someone who was not in his tonsure family and to decide it should be a public monastery, but presumably he had the backing of powerful officials or local literati.

In combination, the social and political forces in the Song with a vested interest in the conversion of hereditary monasteries into public ones effected a significant shift, and the number of public monasteries grew explosively in the Song period. By the end of the twelfth century, more than half of all registered monasteries were public, and a number of prefectures must have had well over a hundred public monasteries.[84] Although the total number of hereditary monasteries no doubt would be much higher if it included unregistered monasteries, which had proliferated by this time, the proportion of public monasteries is still remarkably high.[85]

The Institution of Public Monasteries and the Chan School

In a public monastery, the abbacy was supposed to be open to any competent candidate—but with an important qualification. Most, if not all, public monasteries in the Song had an official association with a particular school of Buddhism, and their abbacies were restricted to lineage holders in that school. One of the most intriguing aspects of the Song system of hereditary and public monasteries is the special connection between the institution of public monasteries and the Chan school. The earliest public monasteries all seem to have been designated "Chan," and even after public monasteries associated with other Buddhist traditions came into existence, the system of public abbacies continued to be especially associated with the Chan school.

Early on in the Song, public monasteries associated with the Tiantai school also appeared, and some public monasteries later became associated with the Huayan school. In the Southern Song, public Tiantai and Huayan monasteries came to be classified as "Teaching" (*jiao* or *jiang*) monasteries,[86] and the category of public "Vinaya" (*lü*) monasteries was later added to the system. The latter were associated with the emergent Vinaya school of Buddhism. Thus, when the system became fully developed in the Southern Song, monasteries were classified as either hereditary or public, and public monasteries were further classified as Chan, Teaching, or Vinaya.[87]

Indications are, however, that the system of public monasteries began as an institutionalization of the Chan school. Also, as I will discuss shortly, the term "Vinaya monastery" (*lüyuan* or *lüsi*) originally designated hereditary monasteries and had no connection whatsoever with the later public monasteries associated with the Vinaya school. These two points are closely related: because public abbacies began with the Chan school and because hereditary monasteries were called Vinaya monasteries, the conversion of a hereditary monastery into a public Chan monastery is often described in Song sources as a change from "Vinaya" to "Chan." This has been universally interpreted to mean that the monastery in question changed from an affiliation with the Vinaya school to one with the Chan school, but this is a serious misunderstanding that obscures the nature of the connection between Chan and the system of public monasteries and distorts the history of the Vinaya school.

I was first alerted to the double meaning of "Vinaya monastery" by the inscription for the Lingfeng monastery at Mount Dahong, which was written by the famous statesman Zhang Shangying (1043–1121) in 1102.[88] In this text, Zhang reports that in the fall of 1087, the Lingfeng monastery was changed by imperial command from Vinaya to Chan, and in 1094, members of the Outer Censorate asked to have the Caodong master Dahong Baoen (1058–1111) move there to take up the abbacy. In 1102, Zhang was

asked to write a "record of [becoming] a public Chan monastery" (*shifang chanyuan ji*) for the Lingfeng monastery. Zhang goes on to relate that a disciple of the famous Tang Chan master Mazu by the name of Shanxin (d.u.), known as the great master Ciren Lingji,[89] first became abbot at the Lingfeng monastery during the Yuanhe period (806–820) of the Tang dynasty. Zhang then states that, having compared and analyzed Chan and Vinaya, he had come to the following conclusion: "Vinaya [*lü*] uses [hereditary] succession [*jiayi*], and Chan uses the public [*shifang*] [system]. That which is called 'succession' [*jiayi*] means that where one generation [*jia*] is coming from, that is where the next generation [*yi*] establishes itself. So [at the time before the Lingfeng monastery became public,] they would necessarily say: 'We are the sons and grandsons of Ciren [the founder of Lingfeng].' Now that a person [to be the abbot] is selected publicly [*shifang*], the descendants of Ciren have been cut off."[90] In this passage, Zhang Shangying describes the new designation of Lingfeng monastery as a public monastery as a change from Vinaya to Chan. He explicitly identifies Vinaya monasteries with hereditary succession and Chan monasteries with public abbacies. In explaining how the Vinaya system works, Zhang describes how previously those who were abbots at Lingfeng were all descendants in the tonsure family lineage of the monastery's founder, Ciren. After the monastery became public, Ciren's descendants had lost their rights to the abbacy.

This description forcefully demonstrates that in the Northern Song the designation "Vinaya monastery" did not refer to a monastery with an abbacy held by members of a Vinaya school. Rather, "Vinaya" in this context seems simply to have meant "governed by the Vinaya," that is, by ordinary, nonsectarian monastic Buddhism with no connection to any particular school. This interpretation has already been suggested by T. Griffith Foulk, though he has not presented evidence for it.[91] But it is clear that the mention of "Vinaya monasteries" in Northern Song texts simply refers to hereditary monasteries, as opposed to public monasteries. A Vinaya monastery is therefore an ordinary hereditary monastery associated with a tonsure family that had the right to its abbacy.

Zhang's statements also show that even if a monastery had some sort of connection to the Chan lineage through its tonsure family, as was the case with the Lingfeng monastery (and the Puli monastery described earlier), it was still a Vinaya monastery, because the succession to its abbacy was hereditary and stayed within the tonsure family. This further drives home the point that "Vinaya monastery" in this context has no association whatsoever with a Vinaya school.

The second important point to note is that Zhang Shangying seems to have associated public abbacies exclusively with the Chan school. As we have already seen, and as Zhang must have been aware, a number of non-Chan public monasteries were in existence when he wrote his record of the Lingfeng monastery in 1102. Zhang must have felt, however, that Chan was associated with the system of public monasteries in a special way to write

in the manner he did. Zhang Shangying was a great, and perhaps partisan, advocate of Chan. But there is much other evidence to suggest that the institution of public abbacies began with the Chan school and through most of the Song continued to be understood as having a special association with it.

Somewhat ironically, perhaps the earliest evidence of a special relationship between Chan and public abbacies is found in the 1010 petition by Zhili and Yiwen to have their monastery recognized as a public monastery devoted to the Tiantai teachings, which is referred to above. In this petition, Zhili and Yiwen note that the prefecture already had two monasteries with public abbacies, the Jingde monastery at Mount Tiantong and the Xianju monastery at Mount Damei. These, they say, were based on the "model of the Buddhist monasteries" in the Jiangnan and Hunan circuits, an area that had numerous public monasteries designated Chan.[92] The Jingde and Xianju monasteries were later known as famous Chan monasteries, and there is little doubt that they were public Chan monasteries at the time Zhili and Yiwen wrote the petition.[93] What is more, the petition makes no mention of existing public monasteries devoted to the Tiantai teachings, which suggests that there were none at the time. We are left with the strong impression that until Zhili and Yiwen made their petition, whatever public monasteries existed had been designated Chan.

Although Zhili was successful in having his monastery officially recognized as a public monastery devoted to the Tiantai teachings, and although other public monasteries associated with the Tiantai and Huayan schools subsequently appeared, the notion that the system of public abbacies was especially linked to the Chan school continued, as evidenced by Zhang Shangying's 1103 inscription and several other Song sources. Some interesting remarks in an inscription from 1036 by the scholar Li Gou (1009–1059) commemorating the conversion of the Taiping Xingguo monastery in Jiangxi to public status also attest to this. Here, Li first extols how Bodhidharma rectified Chinese Buddhism, thus strongly endorsing the Chan perspective, and then notes how in recent years some monks had become corrupt. The emperor was concerned about this, and he decreed that all "Chan abodes" (*chan ju*) that were governed by disciples or "former members of the congregation" (*qian lü*),[94] when the current abbots died, should have their abbot selected (by secular officials). The intent was to rid the monasteries of corruption and cause the (Chan) tradition to become even greater. On the basis of this rule, Li continues, the Taiping Xingguo monastery became converted to a public institution.[95] This again indicates the close connection between Chan and the institution of public monasteries. But the inscription also highlights the government's wish to convert monasteries to public institutions in order to assert control over them. This control was cast in terms of a benevolent ruler's concerns for Buddhism, and it is clear the state sought legitimacy and authority through its involvement with monastic affairs and other Buddhist matters.

The relationship between Chan, Vinaya, and public monasteries is further explained in Yu Jing's text from 1038 discussed above, which describes the succession of abbots at the Dongshan Puli monastery: "In recent times there has been a twofold division of Chan and Vinaya, based on [the selection of] the abbot in residence. In Chan [monasteries], he is chosen according to virtue [*de*], in Vinaya [monasteries] according to family relationship [*qin*] [i.e. tonsure family]."[96] Here again, Vinaya monasteries are identified with the hereditary system, while Chan is presented as synonymous with the system of public abbacies. Another comment that associates Chan with the system of public abbacies is found in the 1055 record of the Fuyan monastery, also referred to earlier. Here, it is said that there are no two ways in Buddhism but that Chan and Vinaya are distinguished by the different living arrangements monks have in monasteries. Monasteries where living is communal and where monks are not asked whether they have a "family" connection are called "public." Monasteries where monks live in their own rooms and call each other "sons" and "brothers" are called "hereditary" (*jiayi*).[97] The special relationship between the institution of public monasteries and the Chan school is also forcefully evidenced by the numerous references to monasteries having been changed from "Vinaya to Chan," almost always followed by a reference to the Chan master who was then installed as the abbot.[98]

Even in the late twelfth century, when public monasteries designated Chan were only slightly more numerous than those designated Teaching and Vinaya, the tendency to associate Chan with the system of public abbacies continued. A late Song inscription, for example, relates how a monastery became public in 1177 and describes this as a change from Vinaya to Chan.[99] Even after public Vinaya monasteries appeared, the term "Vinaya monastery" continued, somewhat confusingly, to be used for hereditary monasteries, so it was necessary to distinguish between public and hereditary Vinaya monasteries.[100]

It is safe to conclude that when a Song text mentions that a monastery was changed from Vinaya to Chan, it always means that it converted from being a monastery with a hereditary abbacy to one with a public abbacy—likely one reserved for members of the Chan lineage.[101] The granting of a plaque giving a monastery a name that contained the word "Chan monastery" (*chansi or chanyuan*) did not necessarily mean, however, that the monastery had been converted into a public Chan monastery.[102] The Chuanjiao monastery in Mingzhou, for example, was granted a plaque giving it the name "Baoyun chanyuan" in 982, but the monastery clearly did not become associated with the Chan school.[103] Likewise, a monastery designated as a public Chan monastery did not necessarily have the words "Chan monastery" in its official name. It is therefore impossible to say anything about a monastery's classification from its name alone.

Because public monasteries in the early part of the Song were exclusively associated with the Chan school, it would seem that, at the time, no

further classification was needed. Perhaps beginning with Zhili's petition in 1010, however, public monasteries officially reserved for members of the Tiantai transmission lineage also came into existence. This eventually led to the creation of a formal distinction between public Chan monasteries and public Teaching monasteries, which were associated with either the Tiantai school or the Huayan school, which emerged in the eleventh century. A law about the taxation of monks from 1145 establishes different taxation rates for monks living in hereditary Vinaya monasteries and public Teaching monasteries and for those living in public Chan monasteries, making it clear that the distinction had become official by this time.[104] However, neither the 1145 law nor any earlier source mentions public Vinaya monasteries. It seems that this category only appeared in the thirteenth century, and public Vinaya monasteries never became very numerous.[105] According to the Japanese Sōtō Zen founder, Dōgen, public Vinaya monasteries were associated with a lineage claiming descent from the famous Chinese Vinaya master Nanshan Daoxuan (596–667).[106] The Song Vinaya school has not been well studied, and it is not clear exactly when and how it took shape, but it seems that the monk Zhanran Yuanzhao (1048–1116) was instrumental in the early stages of its formation.[107]

Later Song Government Policies toward Buddhism

Northern Song government policies proved overall to be highly beneficial for monastic Buddhism. Buddhism was allowed to expand, numerous new monasteries were built, and the population of monks and nuns swelled. But what especially characterizes the Northern Song period was the proliferation of monasteries with public abbacies and the great success of the Chan school, which became the dominant school of elite monastic Buddhism. This success can now be understood largely as a result of the Song government's policies, or at least as a development that could not have taken place without these policies. The government's promotion of the institution of public abbacies and the flourishing of the Chan school were closely related events. The policies of the Song were probably not directly aimed at advancing the Chan school, but public Chan monasteries flourished because the Chan school had a special association with the system of public abbacies and because the Song government saw an advantage in having monasteries become public. This allowed the Chan school to develop an institutional base and an independent identity, which again gave further validity to its claim to be heir to a special transmission going all the way back to the historical Buddha. This claim had probably contributed to Chan's popularity among the elite in the first place, and it further helped convince the Song government that the proliferation of Chan monasteries was beneficial to the state. A close connection developed between the Chan school and the state, and it is significant that the Song Chan transmission histories were all published with imperial sanction, often with prefaces written by emperors. It

seems doubtful that Chan could have developed as an independent entity, with its distinct literature and carefully constructed history, had it not been for the institution of public Chan monasteries.

Toward the end of the eleventh century, the Chan school began losing its privileged position to some degree. Over the eleventh century, public monasteries with abbacies designated for members of the Tiantai or Huayan schools had become increasingly numerous, sometimes at the expense of Chan establishments. By the early thirteenth century, it would seem that only about half of all public monasteries were designated as Chan.[108] At the same time, government support for Buddhist monasteries in general seems to have diminished. As we have seen, the granting of new plaques to monasteries had started to drop off after the reigns of Shenzong and Yingzong. It was during Shenzong's reign that the Song government first began to sell ordination certificates, although the ordination examinations were still on the books[109] and, judging from the biographies of famous monks, exams continued to be held throughout the Song. This was during the time of the activist and controversial New Policies regime under Wang Anshi that initially lasted from 1070 to 1085. The period also witnessed a sudden surge in the granting of titles to various local deities, apparently because the state was trying to gain the assistance of supernatural powers in addition those Buddhism and Daoism could command.[110] While neither the slowdown in the granting of new plaques nor the sale of ordination certificates most likely had a significant impact on the monastic elite in the public Chan monasteries, these changes in policy must have contributed to an atmosphere that felt less favorable to the Buddhist monastic establishment in general than had been the case earlier in the dynasty.

Things were to get much worse. In 1103, the emperor Huizong decreed that special Chongning (later called Tianning Wanshou) monasteries were to be set up in each prefecture to pray for his longevity.[111] Interestingly, these monasteries may have been specifically designated as public Chan monasteries, as claimed in the 1155 *Luohu yelu* (Record of anecdotes from Lake Luo),[112] and several Chan masters are known to have served in them. Although the establishment of these monasteries can hardly be considered a blow against Buddhism, it was not well received by the elite monastic community. The *Luohu yelu* reports that the Chan master Sihui Miaozhan (1071–1145) lamented that the establishment of these monasteries meant that Buddhism would decline.[113] When the Caodong master Furong Daokai was appointed to the Chongning monastery in Kaifeng against his will, he later refused the honor of an imperially bestowed purple robe in protest and was punished with exile. It appears the concept of the Chongning monasteries was perceived as an unwelcome attempt to tighten control of the Buddhist monastic establishment and to confine it to accruing merit for the personal well-being of the emperor and the prosperity of the state. The system of having one Chongning monastery in each prefecture was uncomfortably similar to the final stages of the Huichang persecution of Buddhism, when

only one state-sanctioned monastery was allowed to remain in each of forty-one provinces.[114] Perhaps the Buddhist monastic community sensed greater dangers to come.

In the beginning of his reign, Huizong had seemed fairly well disposed toward Buddhism, as the establishment of the Chongning monasteries after all indicates, and, as we have seen, he also endorsed the Chan school by writing a preface to the 1101 Chan transmission history, the *Xudeng lu.* But Huizong soon turned hostile to Buddhism, gaining the dubious distinction of being the only anti-Buddhist Song emperor. Huizong's hostility led in the end to the attempted eradication of Buddhism as a religion separate from Daoism. Huizong had long been very interested in Daoism, and in 1107 he decreed that Daoist clergy were to be given precedence over Buddhist monks and nuns at court.[115] That same year, he also decreed that Buddhist monasteries were no longer allowed to display images of the triad of Laozi, the Buddha, and Confucius, since this put the Buddha in a superior place, and the images of Laozi and Confucius were ordered removed from the monasteries. One monk is reported to have tearfully declared that this was an omen that Buddhism was about to meet with destruction.[116] In 1110, Huizong placed a three-year ban on the issue of all Buddhist ordination certificates.[117] Then, in 1117, Huizong set up a network of Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) Daoist temples. Huizong had earlier been presented with newly revealed Daoist texts that identified him as the younger brother of the celestial ruler of the Divine Empyrean who governed the South, and he soon began to actively promote Shenxiao Daoism.[118] Many Shenxiao temples were existing Daoist temples that had been renamed, but where no suitable Daoist temple existed, the local authorities were instructed to take over Buddhist monasteries and convert them into Shenxiao temples.[119] Shortly after the creation of the Shenxiao temples, an edict by Huizong exhorted Buddhist monks to give up Buddhism and become Daoist priests.[120]

Huizong's anti-Buddhist policies culminated in 1119, when a series of decrees ordered Buddhism to be assimilated into Daoism. Buddhist monks were commanded to adopt Daoist robes and hairstyle and to give up their Buddhist dharma names. Buddhas and bodhisattvas were given Daoist-sounding names, and their statues were ordered to be draped like statues of Daoist deities. Finally, the terms *si* and *yuan,* which indicates a Buddhist affiliation in the names of monasteries, were changed to *gong* and *guan,* indicating Daoist monasteries.[121] This attempt to eradicate Buddhism as a religion separate from Daoism was short-lived: by the end of 1120, all the measures had been withdrawn. That same year, however, a decree ordered a five-year ban on the issuance of ordination certificates, which was later extended for another three years.[122] The onslaught on Buddhism had failed, and the Buddhist establishment had been reassured of its right to exist, but the climate was still not truly favorable to monastic Buddhism.

Shortly after Huizong's attack on Buddhism, in 1126, the Jurchen Jin forces laid siege to the capital, Kaifeng, and Huizong abdicated in favor

of his son Qinzong (r. 1126–1127). In 1127, the Jin armies took control of Kaifeng and of much of the Song's northern territories. Huizong, Qinzong, and most of the imperial court were carried off by the Jin troops. One of the sons of Huizong, later known as Gaozong (r. 1127–1162), managed to escape and later reestablished the dynasty, and Hangzhou became the "temporary" capital of the Southern Song, known as Lin'an. Huizong and Qinzong both died in captivity (to the new government's relief, as their return would have caused serious issues of legitimacy for Gaozong), and the North was never recaptured.

The relative decline in the fortunes of elite monastic Buddhism continued in the Southern Song. The granting of name plaques ceased almost altogether in this period, and old plaques were transferred from one monastery to another instead. Early on, Gaozong ordered some of the huge monastic landholdings confiscated.[123] He also instituted a ban on the issuance of all ordination certificates from 1142 to 1160. Judging from the biographies of contemporary monks, the ban was upheld, and it must have had a significant impact on the Buddhist monastic establishment.[124] Although hereditary monasteries continued to be converted into Chan monasteries in the Southern Song, the pace seems to have slowed. Perhaps most of the obvious candidates for conversion had already been changed to public status, and with the large number of public Chan monasteries in existence, additional conversions may have seemed less pressing. Furthermore, a decrease in popular attendance at monastic ritual festivals from the late eleventh century onward may also have become noticeable,[125] perhaps because people shifted their attention to smaller local temples that were usually not associated with Buddhism.

Many Song historians have pointed to a number of indications that the state became less activist on the local level by the twelfth century and ceased to formulate clear central policies.[126] If in fact the government became less concerned with details of local government, it probably also became less concerned with the regulation of monasteries. This may partly explain why so few name plaques were granted after the twelfth century: the state no longer saw granting plaques as a means to control monasteries. Instead, it seems, the control of all but the most illustrious monasteries was left to local officials, who could more or less do as they saw fit. In any case, the political changes had a great impact on the Chan school in the Southern Song. The confiscations of monastery lands, the restrictions on ordination, and the diminishing number of monastery conversions, together with the persecution that Buddhism underwent at the end of the Northern Song, must have made it abundantly clear to the elite monastic community in the Southern Song that the state could not be relied on to consistently act in its interest. No doubt, the Chan school felt itself to be under pressure, both because of the general decline in the conditions for monastic Buddhism and because its own privileged position was threatened. As the next chapter will argue,

this meant that the Chan school increasingly felt a need to turn toward members of the literati for support.

Conclusion

The evidence discussed in this chapter compels us to recognize the crucial role of the state in the development of monastic Buddhism in Song China. The Chan, Tiantai, and other elite schools of Buddhism that emerged during the Song might well never have come into existence without the specific government policies discussed above, and Chinese Buddhism would probably have developed along quite different lines had the state pursued other policies. Most significantly, had the state not favored the institution of public monasteries, the Chan school would never have acquired its dominant position in monastic Buddhism.

From the perspective of the state, the system functioned as an important part of its efforts to bring the Buddhist monastic establishment under its control. Since secular authorities could control who held the abbacy in a public monastery, they exercised considerable influence on how such monasteries were governed, and even on the kinds of teachings that were propagated there. By requiring prospective abbots of public monasteries to be members of recognized transmission families, the state ensured that monasteries would be run by monks who were part of the mainstream Buddhist tradition and who would not be likely to expound dangerous, unorthodox ideas that could threaten its authority. From the authorities' point of view, public monasteries served to generate spiritual power that could benefit the state and the local areas in which they were placed. For the local elite, public monasteries also served as loci of prestige and as symbols and expressions of local power. Finally, for the elite monastics residing in the public monasteries, the system created a framework that was crucial for the development of particular ideologies and literatures and for the continuation of their transmission families.

In the case of hereditary monasteries, the succession system tied tonsure lineage members to their monastery, thus making it less likely that such monasteries could be centers for bandits or rebels. Although the state preferred for hereditary monasteries to convert into public monasteries and did much to bring this about, failing this, it could at least set down strict rules to govern succession at existing hereditary monasteries and insist on approving their leadership. For the hereditary monasteries and their tonsure lineages, moreover, the government policies provided a considerable measure of security against those who might try to usurp leadership and gain control of the monasteries and their assets.

So in many ways, the interests of the state coincided with those of monastics in both hereditary and public monasteries. We can see a dichotomy between the established, lawful clergy, who were eager to avoid any

conflict with the state, and the often self-ordained, unregulated monks who in a very real sense were their competition. The system served to keep the fringe and unorthodox monks at bay (although clearly not entirely successfully)[127] and to promote the mainstream, orthodox clergy. Moreover, for both elite and nonelite families, monastic careers for some of their members could be an important part of a strategy for family success.

Still, the tonsure families of the hereditary monasteries and the transmission families of the public monasteries had starkly conflicting interests. Obviously, tonsure families had no interest in having their monasteries made public, which basically stripped them of their property and all their rights. But, as I will detail in the next chapter, transmission families were dependent on public monasteries for their proliferation, and the more monasteries were turned into public ones, the better their lineages fared. This last point is especially poignant given the fact that any member of a transmission lineage would also be a member of a tonsure lineage. One might well imagine that transmission lineage monks did not wish to see their own tonsure families divested of their property, and considerable conflict and tension must have roiled beneath the surface.

In any case, it was not only state support that was crucial for the survival of elite monastic Buddhism and the prosperity of the Chan school: support from local elites and officials also become critical to the success of particular Buddhist masters and their lineages in the Song. I will explore this issue in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3
Procreation and Patronage in the Song Chan School

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that state policies, particularly in the Northern Song, had a profound impact on the development of monastic Buddhism, creating an environment that facilitated and encouraged the growth of the Chan school, enabling it to flourish and evolve. Without these policies, Chan would likely never have become a major force in Chinese Buddhism.

In this chapter, I will argue that support and patronage from members of the literati, both those who were government officials and those who were not, was also crucial for the success of the Chan school in general and for the growth or decline of individual Chan lineages in particular. The need for literati patronage had a profound impact on virtually all aspects of Chan; most significantly, as we shall see in later chapters, it deeply influenced the development of Chan ideology and soteriology and stimulated the rise of silent illumination and kanhua Chan. In the discussion that follows, I shall consider the complex causes and conditions that coalesced to create an environment in which support from members of the educated elite came to be so critically important to the development of the Chan lineage in the Song. I shall also argue that the importance of literati support became even greater to the Chan school during the Southern Song.

Buddhist Families

It is well known that Chinese monastic Buddhism adopted organizational models and interrelational terms borrowed from the Chinese family kinship system, establishing a kind of "fictive" or "putative" kinship, as anthropologists have called it.[1] Buddhist monastics created their own Buddhist families and family lineages using terms such as *xiongdi* (brother; fellow disciple), *shu* (paternal uncle; master's fellow disciple), and *zu* (paternal grandfather; master's master) to refer to one another. This principle of organization was recognized by the Song state and reflected in sources such as the *Tiaofa shilei,* in which regulations for monastics and monasteries were placed in the "Household and Marriage" (*huhun*) category.[2]

In a sense, all monastics were members of one large fictive family: the

family of the Buddha. Ever since the monk Daoan (312–385) famously suggested that all monastics take the name of their ultimate teacher, the Buddha Śākyamuni himself, all monks and nuns had come to be known under the surname "Shi," a shortened transliteration of the Buddha's clan name, "Śākya."[3] Since only ordained monastics could ordain others and the Buddha himself was the first to ordain anyone, all ordained monastics could in theory trace their ordination lineages back to the Buddha.

In Song-dynasty monastic Buddhism, there were in fact two distinct types of fictive kinship groups, one associated with the class of hereditary monasteries and the other with that of public monasteries. Most well known is the Buddhist kinship group associated with public monasteries, which I will here call a "transmission family." Transmission families were perpetuated when students who were thought to have mastered specific doctrinal and ideological content were given special acknowledgment of their attainments by their teachers and thereby became members of an exclusive transmission-family lineage. This kind of fictive family lineage is especially associated with the Chan tradition, where it was cloaked in the language of a mystical meeting of minds, although it did not originate with the Chan school and also became important in other Buddhist schools during the Song. Transmission families constituted the monastic elite, and very few Chinese monks or nuns ever became part of one.

Much less noticed in scholarship—but much more important simply because all monastics in principle were, and still are, part of one—were the "tonsure families" of the hereditary monasteries that everyone who became ordained entered into through a sponsoring tonsure master. All regular monks and nuns in the Song and afterward were members of tonsure families, and for the vast majority, their place in their tonsure family was what gave them identity and defined the framework of their monastic careers. Scholarly discussions of Buddhism rarely pay attention to the nonelite monastics who made up the vast majority of tonsure families and instead tend to focus on the monastic elite, who almost all belonged to transmission families. We need to gain an understanding of both types of Buddhist families, however, if we want to fully understand the framework for the development of Buddhism in the Song and later.[4] The nature and function of transmission-family lineages cannot be fully appreciated without placing them in the context of the system of tonsure families.[5]

To the transmission families of the Song Chan school, the family paradigm was no quaint metaphor: "family feelings" were at the very center of the Chan school's self-identity. As in any other Chinese family, a major concern of the Chan school was procreation and progeny—that is, the acquisition of dharma heirs and the continuation of the transmission family. But Chan procreation was far from being an internal matter concerning only members of the transmission family. Government officials and other members of the educated elite had great influence on the reproductive suc-

cess of individual branches of the Chan transmission family, just as government policies had an enormous impact on the development of the Chan institution.

Tonsure Families

Tonsure families have formed the backbone of Chinese monastic Buddhism since the Song. It seems that in the Tang and earlier, the most important monastic relationship was that between master and tonsure disciple, with little concept of a wider "tonsure family."[6] But by the early Song, two closely related developments had taken place, or at least were well under way. First, a clear concept of the tonsure family had formed, and novices now entered into a web of obligations and rights that included not only their masters but also the masters' entire tonsure families. It had become common for individual hereditary monasteries to be exclusively associated with a particular tonsure family, which in a sense owned them. Second, both hereditary and public monasteries were now governed by single abbots supported by various officers.[7] As noted in the previous chapter, the members of a tonsure family had a close connection to the hereditary monastery in which they resided. The family essentially had property rights to their monastery, and members could live there for their entire lives, whereas monastics from other monasteries could only stay as guests. Only members of a hereditary monastery's tonsure family could assume the abbacy or any other monastic office at that monastery. Thus, a tonsure family formed a closed system around its monastery, granting little access to outsiders.

The sense of family in tonsure groups was clearly very strong; Song writers often defined the members of tonsure families as those who call each other "sons" and "brothers."[8] Tonsure families in the Song were concerned with property and inhabitation rights,[9] and particularly with succession to the office of the abbot. For this reason, the relationships in tonsure families seem to have focused on the living generations, and little interest was paid to the more remote generations—with the exception, perhaps, of the founder of the monastery.[10] In general, there was no need for tonsure families to prove their rights by referring to an ancient lineage, and I know of no attempts on the part of tonsure families to compile lineage genealogies, although it seems possible that some tonsure families did compile them. For eminently practical reasons, then, the tonsure families' main interest was in the immediate "nuclear" family.

Abbots and other members of the tonsure families at hereditary monasteries were no doubt often locally prominent, and a few may have even become regionally or nationally famous. The most illustrious Buddhist masters of the Song, however, were virtually all members of a transmission family. Like other monastics, however, such famous masters were also members of a tonsure family, and there is much evidence that they maintained con-

nections with their tonsure families, even though they spent most of their lives in public monasteries. It is telling that in the funerary inscriptions for famous transmission-family masters, the name of the famed monastic's tonsure master is frequently noted, often together with the name of the tonsure master's monastery. In the vast majority of these cases, both the tonsure master and his monastery are unknown from other sources, and listing them in a funerary inscription could not have served to enhance the famous monk's prestige. At the same time, many funerary inscriptions also mention the number of tonsure disciples the master himself had, often listing a few of their names (again, almost always otherwise unknown). All novices a Chan master ordained, of course, became members of his tonsure family, and at least some of them were trained and lived at the public monastery where their master held the abbacy.[11] There are many indications that the identity of even an elite monastic was closely associated with his or her tonsure family.

Chan Transmission Families

The notion of dharma transmission in Chinese Buddhism and the resulting lineages, especially those associated with the Chan school, have received an enormous amount of attention from scholars and popular writers. No attempt has been made, however, to understand transmission in the Chan school in the broader context of transmission families, nor have scholars made any efforts to investigate how the notion of family shaped the conception of dharma transmission. Although it cannot be fully explored here, it seems likely that the idea of transmission lineages grew out of that of tonsure lineages and that there was originally no concept of being "spiritual heir" to anyone other that one's tonsure master. Going back to the earliest formation of a Chinese transmission lineage—the seventh-century efforts of Guanding to create a Tiantai lineage—it is interesting to note that the three disciples of the Tiantai school's principal founder, Zhiyi, who took over the monasteries that he founded (effectively passing over Guanding), are all said to have been Zhiyi's tonsure disciples.[12] Guanding, on the other hand, was not Zhiyi's tonsure disciple, and his efforts to create a Tiantai transmission lineage can perhaps be seen in this light as an effort to establish himself as a more legitimate heir of Zhiyi than any tonsure disciple could have been. Similarly, it may be significant that the fifth patriarch of Chan, Hongren, was supposedly the tonsure disciple of the fourth patriarch, Daoxin.[13] It was among those who studied with Hongren but who were not his tonsure disciples that disputes over who was the real heir arose.

Although I have not found any example of a Song Chan master's tonsure disciple also becoming his dharma heir, there appears to have been some blurring between tonsure and transmission lineages, even many decades into the Song. Some tonsure disciples of a Chan master seem at times to have been closely linked to him in ways that are usually associated with

dharma heirs. The funerary inscription for Jingyan Shousui (1072–1147) written by the famous literatus Feng Ji (d. 1152),[14] for example, notes that three of his tonsure disciples raised the money needed to have the inscription set in stone, and it also seems to have a been a tonsure disciple who initially approached the author to request the inscription.[15] In any case, those who became tonsure disciples of a well-known Chan master probably often aspired to membership in the master's extended transmission family. Thus, the compiler of the *Chanyuan qinggui,* Changlu Zongze, was tonsured by the Yunmen master Fayun Faxiu (1027–1090) but became the dharma heir of Faxiu's dharma brother, Changlu Yingfu (d.u.).[16] Huizhao Qingyu (1078–1140) became the tonsure disciple of Furong Daokai in the Caodong tradition but received dharma transmission from Daokai's disciple, Danxia Zichun (1064–1117). Qingyu is reported to have stated in his inaugural sermon that he had learned much at Daokai's monastery but that at his *shixiong* (older dharma brother; fellow monastic) Danxia Zichun's monastery he had forgotten everything. Qingyu further stated that although his lineage was the same as that of Zichun, he could not turn his back on Zichun and consider him secondary, and he then declared himself the heir of Danxia Zichun.[17] The implication Qingyu clearly wanted to convey is that he could have been considered Daokai's dharma heir but out of loyalty aligned himself with Zichun.

At some point in the ninth century, it became the orthodox position that Huineng was the sixth patriarch and that after him the Chan lineage branched out. Thus, it came to be generally accepted that a Chan master could have several equal dharma heirs who might have several heirs of their own. With this development, transmission families began to take shape, and family terms were adopted to describe relations within them. But unlike tonsure families, in transmission families the main focus was on the lineage that connected a member through his master back to the historical Buddha, with the dramatic claims to authority that this implied. The Chan school's sense of superiority among the traditions of Buddhism was mainly based on its transmission lineage, although Chan of course also claimed that its teachings alone pointed directly to the Buddha-nature that we all possess. The Chan school insisted that it was the keeper of an unbroken lineage of physical bodies starting with the Buddha Śākyamuni, which carried the very essence of the Buddha's enlightenment. Every time the dharma was transmitted from teacher to disciple, a reenactment of the Buddha's transmission to the first patriarch, Mahākāśyapa, took place.[18] Therefore, in principle, everyone who held the Chan dharma transmission was equivalent to the Buddha himself. In this way, Chan transmission holders saw themselves as the true family of the Buddha. Only someone who had a dharma transmission and therefore was a member of a Chan transmission family could be said to belong to the Chan school.

Transmission families were first formed within the Chan school, and the notion of dharma transmission had a special association with Chan even

after other schools of Buddhism adopted similar systems. In the Song, the Tiantai school reemerged with its own transmission family lineages, as did the later Huayan and Vinaya schools.[19] Although only Chan claimed an unbroken lineage of direct transmission going back to the Buddha, and although the Chan lineage dominated for much of the period, these other lineages gained considerable prestige in Song elite society and in some ways came to rival Chan.

Members of transmission lineages emerged in the Song as a monastic elite, an exclusive and prestigious group with enormous charisma and unparalleled claims to religious authority. The transmission family came to be seen as completely distinct from the tonsure family, and it also came to be associated with a very different type of monastery: the public monastery. As discussed in the previous chapter, the public monastery as a legal category was a major innovation of the Song. Most—perhaps all—public monasteries were officially affiliated with a specific school of Buddhism, and thus their abbacies were reserved for members of transmission families belonging to that school (although their affiliations could change by order of the secular government). Public monasteries were especially associated with the Chan school, but, as we have seen, early on in the Song the Tiantai school of Buddhism also began to establish transmission families and was assigned its own public monasteries. It is clear that the notion of transmission families and the institution of public monasteries were intimately related from the beginning. In fact, as I shall seek to demonstrate, transmission families could only exist in the context of the institution of public monasteries.

Enlightenment and Dharma Transmission in the Song Chan School

To become a member of the Chan transmission family, a monastic had to receive a dharma transmission from a Chan master who himself had received it earlier from his master. In traditional Chan self-understanding, the basis for dharma transmission is the moment when a Chan master recognizes that his student has attained the same enlightened state that he himself has achieved. The dharma transmission is understood as a wordless transmission from master to disciple concerning absolute insight into the nature of ultimate reality. Chan literature is replete with descriptions of incidents in which students are enlightened in often very dramatic encounters with a Chan master. The records of such encounters, often referred to as "encounter dialogue," are characterized by their disruptive language and seemingly non sequitur answers and comments, which were thought to directly point to the inherently enlightened Buddha-mind of all sentient beings. In the Song Chan tradition, encounter dialogue, usually involving Tang-dynasty Chan masters, came to be considered gongan when a later Chan master commented on it, and it was much studied by Chan students.[20] Consider, for example, this well-known story, here quoted from the 1036 *Guangdeng lu:*

> The master [Baizhang Huaihai (749–814)] served as Mazu's attendant. One day, he accompanied Mazu for a walk when they heard the sound of wild ducks. Mazu asked: "What is that sound?" The master replied: "The sound of wild ducks." After a while, Mazu said: "Where did the sound go?" The master said: "It's flown away." Mazu turned his head, grabbed the master's nose and twisted it. The master cried out in pain. Mazu said: "And you still say that it's flown away!" At these words, the master had an awakening. The next day, when Mazu ascended the [dharma] hall [to give a sermon] and was about to sit down, the master came up and rolled up his [Mazu's] mat. Mazu then left, and the master followed him to the abbot's quarters. Mazu said: "Just now, I wanted to give a sermon. Why did you roll up my mat?" The master said: "Because my nose hurts." Mazu said: "Where will you come and go?" The master said: "Yesterday there happened to be some convoluted business. It is not as good as following along."[21] Mazu gave a shout. The master then left.[22]

In stories like these, enlightenment and the master's acknowledgement of it (in this story implied by Mazu's shout) are depicted as intensely private events involving only two individuals, the student and the master. Even if others are present, they are portrayed as in a very real sense excluded from what is happening—like we, as unenlightened readers, are too.[23] In the most famous description of a dharma transmission, that of the fifth patriarch Hongren's transmission to Huineng found in the *Platform Sūtra,* the event is said to have taken place in secret in the middle of the night.[24] But in later stories about the Tang masters, dharma transmission seems to be implied simply in the master's acknowledgement of the student's enlightenment (often referred to as *yinke*).

In spite of the imagined simplicity and enduring appeal of the model of dharma transmission and Chan procreation in the Tang, the process by which a Chan student in the Song became a member of a branch of the Chan transmission family and formally received a transmission was a complex matter, fraught with potential conflict. And although the emphasis on dharma transmission as a supremely private event was perpetuated in Song Chan, dharma transmission was in fact a highly public act. The very nature of transmission in the Song Chan school required it to be so.

The many biographical, or rather hagiographical, accounts of the lives of Chan masters that are extant from the Song (most importantly in funerary inscriptions) help us understand the process of Chan procreation in the Song and the making of a Chan master. A typical account of the life of a Song Chan master begins by mentioning his family name and area of birth, together with some signs of his precociousness as a child. This is worth noting, because it offers an indication of the typical social background of a Chan master. It seems clear that most came from the educated elite, although perhaps often from lower strata of that class. Most had a classical education, or at least the beginnings of one, and when the young master-to-be entered a monastery he was further educated in Buddhist texts and perhaps also in the Confucian classics.

The great majority of the Chan masters for whom we have records seem to have become monastics at hereditary monasteries of which virtually nothing is known, but we must imagine that some hereditary monasteries were more prestigious than others and that certain senior monks were especially likely to educate monastics who would later advance within the system of public monasteries. In any case, the first step in becoming a monastic was to be accepted as a postulant by an abbot or another senior monk. After having received the novice (*shami*) ordination, an ambitious monastic would go on to eventually become ordained as a full monk.[25] A monk who aspired to membership in a Chan transmission family would then travel around to visit various Chan masters until he met the master whose heir he was to become. The very first meeting with this master is often described as leading to an enlightenment experience for the aspirant. Even so, the aspirant is usually reported to have stayed on at his master's monastery and served in various offices for a number of years, and also often to have served as an officer at other public monasteries. Eventually, the aspirant received his first abbacy at a public monastery and began his career as an abbot, which usually lasted until his death. A typical biography then lists the various abbacies the master subsequently held, emphasizing any appointments made by imperial order or through the recommendation of famous and powerful literati. Finally, it describes the master's passing away and often mentions the number of his tonsure disciples, sometimes with a few representative names, and the number of his dharma heirs, with a few names almost always mentioned.[26]

This kind of paradigmatic account gives us several important clues about Chan transmission. First of all, with a few interesting exceptions, a Song Chan master is always depicted as embarking on a career as an abbot following his training and enlightenment. It was thus the universal expectation that a successful Chan student would eventually serve as an abbot at a series of public monasteries. In this connection, the hagiographical accounts clearly reflect the demands of real life: enlightenment alone was not enough qualification for running a big public monastery; years of training in lower monastic offices were considered necessary as preparation. On the other hand, while a biographical account of a Chan master always implies that his enlightened mind was recognized by his teacher, the great enlightenment experiences that we tend to expect are often missing from accounts of Chan students' interactions with their masters. Instead, the biographer frequently simply makes a statement to the effect that the student had a profound understanding that was praised and approved by his teacher.[27]

In any case, the crucial point in a student's career occurred when his master decided that the student was worthy of being admitted into his transmission family. This decision cannot have been a simple matter. In all likelihood, the master had to first confer with his own master, if he was still alive, and perhaps also with his senior dharma brothers, to be sure that they agreed with the decision.[28] Local authorities may also have been involved.[29] The disciple himself had to agree as well, and, as we shall see, such agreement could not always be taken for granted.

The Inheritance Certificate

Even when agreement about adding someone to a Chan transmission family had been secured from all sides, the process was not finished. It appears that a transmission was only complete when the disciple was issued a certificate from his master that proved his membership in the transmission family. This was referred to as an "inheritance certificate" (*sishu*) or "dharma inheritance certificate" (*sifashu; fasishu*). ("Transmission certificate" is also a possible, if less precise, translation.) Although they were clearly of great importance, Song sources only mention these certificates sporadically, and much about them is still not well understood. Fortunately, Dōgen, the founder of Japanese Sōtō Zen who traveled in China from 1223 to 1227, included in his diary a lengthy discussion of the use of inheritance certificates in Song Chan.[30] Dōgen wrote as a polemic sectarian and not a historian, and some of his statements seem out of tune with the Chinese evidence.[31] Still, as what is probably a contemporary eyewitness account, Dōgen's discussion of inheritance certificates is a valuable source.

Dōgen describes an inheritance certificate as a scroll, sometimes elaborately adorned, that could be as long as eight feet.[32] On it, the name of the holder was embedded in a list of all his predecessors in the lineage, going all the way back to Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus, it graphically placed the recipient in a context that showed him as an equivalent to the great ancient masters of the lineage and to the Buddha himself. The certificate was signed and sealed (with blood, according to Dōgen) by the Chan master who bestowed the transmission, and it bore the seal of the monastery where the transmission took place. In Dōgen's account, inheritance certificates in Song Chan were documents of immense importance without which no dharma transmission could take place. Dōgen also made it clear that abbots at public Chan monasteries were supposed to hold inheritance certificates. Inheritance certificates were treated with great reverence and only rarely shown to anyone. Several times, Dōgen describes his own strong emotional response on seeing an inheritance certificate, prostrating in front of it and burning incense.[33]

Interestingly, Dōgen claims that some people were so eager to obtain an inheritance certificate that many abuses took place. Some students would obtain calligraphed sermons (*fayu*) or inscribed portraits (*dingxiang*) from Chan masters and later claim that these were proof that they had inherited the dharma of those masters.[34] Such people would sometimes bribe officials to let them become abbots, even though they did not have the proper credentials. Even worse, says Dōgen, they would then transmit their "dharma" to others. Furthermore, unqualified students would often pester their masters to give them inheritance certificates, and Dōgen laments that it had become the practice to give certificates to students who had merely gained a bit of power under the guidance of a master.[35]

Inheritance certificates are mentioned a number of times in Song-dynasty Chan literature, usually in a context that at first seems somewhat

puzzling. Almost all the instances I have found depict the *student* as sending an inheritance certificate to his *master,* and it is often made clear that this happened immediately after, but *only after,* the student had been appointed to his first post as an abbot at a public monastery. For example, several Song-dynasty Chan sources include a story about how Baoben Huiyuan (1037–1091), when he was appointed to his first abbacy in 1068, sent a monk to his master Huanglong Huinan with his inheritance certificate.[36] The *Louhu yelu* from 1155 has a story about Lingyan Chongan (d.u.), who became a student of Foxing Fatai (d.u.) before Fatai received his first abbacy. When Fatai finally got his first post as an abbot, he sent Chongan to his master, Yuanwu Keqin, with an inheritance certificate.[37] Also, in a letter to his student Fengshan Shouquan (d.u.) written in response to the receipt of an inheritance certificate from him, Ying'an Tanhua (1103–1163) noted that only when the certificate arrived did he know that Shouquan had been appointed to an abbacy and had given his first sermon.[38]

Although the details are not clear, at least two of the five inheritance certificates Dōgen reports having seen in China were in the possession of monks who did not hold an abbacy at the time that Dōgen viewed them. One was held by Zongyue (d.u.), who Dōgen says was the head monk (*shouzuo*) at Mount Tiantong.[39] The second was held by the sūtra keeper (*zangzhu*) at Mount Tiantong, a man named Chuan.[40] According to Dōgen's report, Chuan must have received the certificate at least eight years earlier. Dōgen also tells of seeing the inheritance certificate of Wuji Liaopai (1149–1224) in early 1224, when Liaopai was the abbot at Mount Tiantong. The certificate was written by Liaopai's master, the famous Fozhao Deguang (1121–1203). Dōgen quotes the text of the certificate, which begins: "Sūtra Keeper Liaopai, from Weiwu,[41] is now my son/disciple [*jin wu zi ye*]." This statement was followed by a listing of the lineage from Deguang back to Linji.[42]

The reports provided by Dōgen and the Chinese evidence suggest that a Chan student was issued an inheritance certificate when his training was considered complete. Probably the certificate was a necessary prerequisite for receiving a position as an abbot, as indicated by Dōgen, who relates that when he expressed curiosity about inheritance certificates at a public monastery in China, he was told, "Of course, the abbot here has one."[43] It would further seem that once a Chan monk received his first abbacy, he then sent his certificate to his master to receive validation of some sort.

It is obvious, however, that in many cases a Chan master died before all of his students had obtained their first appointments at public monasteries. In fact, the story about Baoben Huiyuan referred to above describes how Huanglong, when he received the request, claimed to have forgotten Huiyuan, refused to validate the certificate (the text simply states, "he did not issue it" [*weifa*]), and told the messenger that Huiyuan had to come in person. Huiyuan immediately resigned from his post to travel to Huanglong's place. Before he arrived there, however, Huanglong died.[44] Huiyuan went on to have a career as an abbot at several public monasteries, and there

is no mention of his receiving a substitute certificate or anything similar. Likewise, the two most illustrious representatives of the Caodong tradition in the Song, Hongzhi Zhengjue (1091–1157) and Zhenxie Qingliao (1088–1151), who were both heirs of Danxia Zichun, were not appointed to their first abbacies until after the death of Zichun. The same is true of a number of other well-known Chan masters. It therefore seems that the validation of the inheritance certificate after a master's first appointment to an abbacy could be dispensed with altogether or perhaps could be done by proxy by older disciples in the same lineage or by other members of the transmission family.

Interestingly, Dōgen mentions that in the Linji tradition, inheritance certificates would first name the recipient and then state that the person named had, for example, "studied with me," "entered my congregation," "become my personal disciple," or "inherited me."[45] If Dōgen understood correctly, this suggests the intriguing possibility that there were different kinds of inheritance certificates serving different functions. This issue will have to await further research.

Chan Procreation and Public Monasteries

The important point for our present purposes is that a Chan monk's first appointment to the abbacy of a public monastery clearly marked a crucial transition in his career. The evidence strongly suggests that it was only when he received this first appointment as an abbot that a Chan monk became a full member of his Chan transmission family, ideally with the occasion marked by the monk's having his original inheritance certificate validated by his master. There is little doubt that dharma transmission was only fully meaningful and valid in the context of the office of the abbacy at a public monastery. There are many indications in Song sources that only as an abbot of a public monastery was a monk considered wholly part of the Chan transmission family and a true heir of his master. As mentioned earlier, in funerary inscriptions for Chan masters, the number of their dharma heirs is often noted, and sometimes a few names are listed. But only those who have become abbots (referred to as having "come out into the world" [*chushi*]) are ever named. The others clearly could not be counted, even if they were renowned students who were already recognized as having achieved enlightenment (presumably having been issued a certificate) and who were obviously on the path to an abbacy. In Danxia Zichun's funerary inscription, for example, his famous pupil Hongzhi Zhengjue is quoted as posing a question to Zichun at his deathbed in 1117—obviously a way for the writer of the inscription to recognize Hongzhi as an important student. But when the inscription lists Zichun's dharma heirs, only the two of Zichun's disciples who held abbacies at the time are mentioned. Neither Hongzhi nor the other important disciple of Zichun, Qingliao, makes the list, though both had well-known enlightenment experiences under Zichun and were rising stars

who had held various high monastic offices.[46] In Hongzhi's funerary biography,[47] the scholar Wang Boxiang (1106–1173) describes how Hongzhi was appointed to his first position as an abbot in 1124 and then notes that now "[Hongzhi] truly [*shi*] for the first time had come out into the world [*chushi*] and inherited the dharma of Zichun."[48] The writers of the two texts, separated by more than forty years, both express the same understanding: only after having received an abbacy could a monk be considered a true dharma heir. In fact, when a Chan master gave his first sermon upon receiving his first abbacy, known as *kaitang* (opening the hall), it was a standard ritual that he would declare whose heir he was and burn incense for his master. This ritual is found described in numerous recorded sayings collections of individual Chan masters in the Song.[49] It indicates that a monastic's first sermon as the abbot of a public monastery marked a crucial transition into full membership of a Chan transmission lineage that transformed him, or in a few cases her, into a full-fledged Chan master.

Nevertheless, anyone who attained enlightenment under a Chan master could in some sense be considered the master's dharma heir. This is evidenced by the fact that the transmission histories do occasionally list certain monks as dharma heirs despite the fact that they never held an abbacy at a public monastery. These monks are designated not as "Chan masters" (*chanshi,* or sometimes *dashi*), however, but rather with the title of the highest office they reached, usually "head monk" (*shouzuo*).[50] In some cases, the texts explicitly mention that the monks in question never held an abbacy, usually by explaining that they were offered abbacies but turned them down. Such formulations justify the monks' inclusion in the transmission histories by making it clear that they were considered qualified to hold an abbacy.[51] Still, these monks are always placed toward the end of the list of a master's disciples in the transmission histories, indicating their lower prestige and importance. It cannot have been uncommon for monastics who received inheritance certificates to fail to get abbacies, and it is telling that the names of only a few dozen such people have been preserved for all of the Song period; the vast majority of Chan monks without abbacies were simply forgotten.

The transmission histories also sometimes include laypeople as dharma heirs. Even in the case of famous ministers or other high-prestige literati, however, they are always listed last, after monks who did not hold abbacies and any nuns.[52] Including literati as dharma heirs of a Chan master clearly did much to further the prestige of individual Chan masters and the whole Chan school. It is indicated in other sources, however, that laypeople were never truly considered part of the Chan lineage. The *Dahui Pujue chanshi nianpu* (Chronological biography of Chan master Dahui Pujue), for example, ends with a list of Dahui's students, among whom there were many well-known officials and literati. But the list starts with "dharma heirs" (*sifa*): a record of twelve monks and three nuns who all held public abbacies. Only then comes a list of literati who were "personally enlightened in perfect

accord [with the master]" (*qin you qizheng*), which contains the names of fifteen male members of the literati, one laywoman, and two nuns.[53] This is followed by a list of twenty-one literati who are said to have revered Dahui and admired his teachings.[54] We here see a clear distinction being made between Dahui's dharma heirs, who were all monastics; the laypeople who attained enlightenment under Dahui but who could not be considered actual dharma heirs; and the laypeople who studied with Dahui but who did not attain enlightenment under him. The arrangement of the lists of disciples in the transmission histories reflects a similar understanding: in some sense, anyone who had an enlightenment experience sanctioned by a Chan master was his heir, but only those who went on to hold abbacies at public monasteries became true dharma heirs and members of the lineage.

Even more significant is the fact that, as a rule, no Song monastic who did not hold a public abbacy nor any lay disciple of any master is credited with having dharma heirs.[55] This and other evidence indicates that not only was the office of the abbot tied to dharma transmission, but dharma transmission itself was tied to the abbacy of a public monastery. Only someone who held or, perhaps, had in the past held a position as the abbot of a public monastery could perform valid dharma transmissions and issue inheritance certificates to his or her disciples. This, I believe, is a crucial detail without which we cannot move toward a fuller understanding of Song elite monastic Buddhism.

Thus, Juefan Huihong, in an epitaph for the Caodong master Lumen Fadeng (1075–1127), notes that in the beginning Fadeng had studied with Jiashan Ziling (d.u., Yunmen tradition) before proceeding to receive a transmission in the Caodong tradition from Furong Daokai. Later, Huihong continues, Ziling's Way had become orphaned because he did not have any heirs, although the monk Weixian (d.u.) had obtained master Ziling's essence and was secluded at Mount Nanyue. Fadeng then wrote a letter about the matter to the officials in nearby Changsha, and they invited Weixian to become the abbot at the Longan Chan monastery. Everyone who heard about this was deeply impressed with Fadeng.[56] Huihong's narrative clearly implies that by securing an abbacy for Weixian, Fadeng saved the lineage of Ziling. Because the monk Weixian had no abbacy and, it seems, no one to back him for an appointment, he was not able to procreate and perpetuate his lineage. Without an abbacy, Weixian did not qualify as an heir to Ziling, as Huihong notes, and only when Fadeng intervened was the lineage saved. People were impressed with Fadeng's action because he went out of his way to save another transmission family, one that could even be seen as a potential rival to his own.

The expectation that a successful Chan student would eventually be appointed to the abbacy of a public monastery becomes readily understandable in this context. In the same way that the son of a Chinese elite family cannot fully be considered part of the family lineage before he is married and has begot children,[57] so a dharma heir was not fully part of his trans-

mission family until he received his first post as an abbot and became able to perpetuate his lineage. Choosing an eremitic existence was therefore not really an option for Song Chan masters. At the very least, a Chan master had to have had one appointment at a public monastery before he could pass on his transmission and thus be faithful to his ancestors in the lineage and the rest of his transmission family. This fact had a number of far-reaching consequences for Song-dynasty elite Buddhism.

The concern with transmission and inheritance certificates not only reflects their importance to the career of a ambitious monastic but also the wish (often, no doubt, a fervent wish) of Chan masters to have dharma heirs who could carry on their lineages. Chan masters needed promising students who not only were worthy of dharma transmission but also had organizational skills and leadership qualities and who were astute and politically adept enough to find backers for appointments to the abbacies of public monasteries.

Since a promising monk often studied with several masters, it may not always have been obvious whose transmission he would receive. Until a Chan student took up his first abbacy, his lineage was not irrevocably determined, and even a student who was generally considered the heir of a particular master could change his allegiance and accept transmission from a different master—as long as he did so before accepting his first abbacy. At times, it seems, a student might simply have abandoned his first master after receiving an offer from someone with a more illustrious lineage or with other attractive incentives. Several sources contain a story about Zhenxie Qingliao, who, after he had completed his training under Danxia Zichun in the Caodong tradition, became the head monk at the monastery of the Yunmen master Zuzhao Daohe (1057–1124) when he was at Mount Changlu. Daohe thought highly of Qingliao and wanted him to become his heir, so he offered to bestow his robe on Qingliao and to arrange for him to take over the abbacy of his monastery. Qingliao agreed to accept Daohe's robe, but he also responded that he could not become Daohe's heir, since he had already received the dharma from Danxia Zichun. Daohe was not happy with this answer, and he withdrew from his post as the abbot without transmitting his robe. Nevertheless, Qingliao was then ordered by the fiscal commissioner, Chen (d.u.),[58] to take over Daohe's monastery, and when he gave his first sermon, Qingliao declared himself an heir of Danxia Zichun. The *Conglin shengshi* (Glorious matters from the [Chan] monasteries) notes how everyone who heard this story marveled at Qingliao's loyalty to his original teacher, suggesting that Qingliao could just as easily have accepted Daohe's offer to become his heir rather than Zichun's.[59]

Huihong's *Linjian lu* (Records from the [Chan] groves) has another illustrative anecdote, this one about Fuyan Cigan (d.u.), who was serving as the head monk at the monastery of Foyin Liaoyuan (1031–1098). When Foyin was about to move to another monastery, he petitioned the local prefect, requesting Cigan become his heir and succeed him as the abbot. When he told Cigan about this, however, Cigan consented to take over the abbacy

but declined Foyin's transmission, since Huanglong Huinan was already his master. Foyin had to accept Cigan's refusal to become his heir; at the same time, he could not go back on his recommendation of Cigan to the abbacy. Cigan then assumed the abbacy and declared himself the heir of Huanglong.[60] Of course, as this story is told, Foyin could not have been ignorant about the fact that Cigan was already a student of Huanglong. He must have thought that Cigan would be willing to change his allegiance in return for the promise of the abbacy. In fact, Foyin is portrayed as having been so sure of Cigan's accepting his transmission that he did not approach him about it until after he had made the recommendation to the prefect. Comically, Huihong appears to suggest, Foyin was left in a situation where he had no choice but to let Cigan take over his abbacy in spite of his refusal to become Foyin's heir.

The *Conglin shengshi* contains another story that suggests how fierce the competition was among Chan masters for good students, even to the point of impropriety. We are told of how Hongzhi's disciple Liaotang Siche (d.u.), when holding the office of guest prefect at Hongzhi's monastery, so impressed the visiting Dahui Zonggao that Dahui secretly tried to persuade Siche to come over to his monastery. Siche's loyalty did not waver, and he stayed on as Hongzhi's disciple.[61] One senses a distinct tone of censure in the *Conglin shengshi* here: Dahui's attempt to poach a student from his host, Hongzhi, was clearly not quite in accordance with the norms of how a guest should behave, and the text highly praises the loyal Siche.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Song Chan literature also contains anecdotes about students who were not so loyal to their first Chan masters. The *Conglin shengshi* tells of Yetang Puchong (d.u.), who studied with Hongzhi for a while without achieving any realization. In the end, he left and went to see the Linji master Caotang Shanqing (1057–1142). Soon after, he had an enlightenment under Shangqing's tutelage. Later, Puchong was appointed to the public abbacy at Mount Ayuwang, where he offered incense and declared himself the heir of Shanqing. The Chan master Xuedou Chi (d.u.) then wrote a verse teasing Hongzhi that went: "Obtaining one Zong [a reference to Hongzhi's prominent disciple, Sizong (1085–1153)], losing one Chong [Puchong]; Joining his palms in front, beating his chest in back." Everyone who heard this laughed out loud.[62] The fact that this verse was considered funny shows the anxiety and tension that was associated with dharma transmission and nicely demonstrates the great importance that was attached to obtaining talented students. This story, like the previous ones, also serves to reiterate the point that it was only when someone was appointed to a public abbacy that the issue of whose heir he was became critical.[63]

Chan Transmission Families and the Educated Elite

Once we understand the central role that the abbot's position at a public monastery held for the dharma transmission and for the perpetuation of transmission family lineages, we can begin to appreciate the concern with

appointments to public abbacies that is so obvious in Song elite Buddhism, and especially in the Chan school. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the state favored the system of public monasteries because of the open nature of those institutions and the high degree of control it had over them. This control was largely facilitated by the state's giving government officials and other members of the educated elite decisive power over appointments to abbacies at public monasteries. Especially in the case of the elite transmission families, Buddhist clergy could only exercise real power over abbot appointments through their influence on secular officials and literati, as demonstrated in Fadeng's recommendation to the authorities in Changsha that Weixian be given an abbacy. Through their control of public abbacies at Chan monasteries, government officials and influential literati were in a very real way in control of procreation and dharma transmission in the Chan school.

The system of appointing monks to public abbacies was not originally conceived as one completely dominated by secular officials, but rather as one in which local authorities had a supervisory role. As we have seen, the *Tiaofa shilei* states that candidates for vacant abbacies at public monasteries should be selected by a congregation of other abbots and presented to the authorities, and the authorities were to step in and directly select someone only if the gathered abbots could not come up with a recommendation. The *Chanyuan qinggui* describes a similar scenario and includes an elaborate description of how the abbot, once selected, was to be invited to take up his post. A group of monks from the monastery with the vacancy would travel to the monastery where the monk to be invited was living and lodge there. The envoys would bring with them numerous letters and documents from officials, from the monastery itself, from the Buddhist officials in the area, from the abbots at other monasteries in the area, from the lay patrons of the monastery, and from retired officials, in addition to letters and reports from the withdrawing abbot to the local authorities in both the area where he had been serving and the area where the prospective abbot resided, and so on. When the officials in the area where the prospective abbot resided had agreed, the candidate himself would be formally presented with an invitation. If the local authorities refused to release the prospective abbot, the delegation would return with the letter of refusal to authorities at home and would only make a second request if those authorities decided they should do so.[64]

Although these sources depict secular officials as playing an active and central role in the selection and invitation of a new abbot, they also describe a procedure that involved and gave considerable influence to high-ranking clergy. The *Tiaofa shilei* clearly suggests that it was the expectation that the congregated abbots would make a selection acceptable to, and even welcomed by, the authorities. The possibility that the person chosen for the abbacy might decline the position is also made explicit in the *Chanyuan qinggui*. The system as described in these sources was at least partially fol-

lowed, especially early in the Song. Thus, in the 1036 inscription by the scholar Li Gou cited in the previous chapter, Li notes how two high-ranking officials petitioned for the Taiping Xingguo monastery to be converted to a public abbacy and proceeded to consult with abbots and elders to find a superior master. The choice was then approved by the prefect.[65] One gets the impression of a process very similar to the one described in the *Tiaofa shilei*. However, it seems that almost right from the beginning, the system was usurped by those wielding secular power, and, at least in the case of the more illustrious monks and famous monasteries, the rules did not reflect actual practice through most of the dynasty. Overwhelming evidence points to the fact that many appointments to the abbacies of public monasteries were made directly by secular authorities, with clergy playing no formal role whatsoever.[66]

Most commonly, direct appointments to public abbacies were made at the prefectural level (*zhou*), often at the initiative of distinguished local literati or powerful government officials. But appointments to public abbacies could come directly from the imperial court, as was sometimes the case with illustrious Chan monks and famous public monasteries. Direct appointments by secular authorities are very well documented because they are always proudly noted in the funerary inscriptions for Chan masters, which often name the officials who recommended the master to a post and which make much of any imperial appointments. When secular authorities ordered a monk to take up an abbacy, the monk had little choice but to accept the appointment unless high and powerful officials were willing to support his refusal. This was especially true in the case of imperial appointments: any monk who refused to take up a post to which he was appointed by imperial command was swiftly punished. A Chan master was typically moved from abbacy to abbacy throughout his career at the will of the politically powerful. The elite clergy of the transmission families were thus treated almost exactly like secular officials, who also received appointments as orders that could not be disobeyed and who were not allowed to stay in one position long enough to build up a local power base.

Imperial appointments to the leadership of monasteries had a long history by the Song.[67] Prior to the Song, however, such appointments seem to have been fairly rare occurrences and not part of an overall policy toward Buddhism. In the Song, the imperial court purposely used direct appointments to promote and control illustrious masters, bolster the state's legitimacy, and ensure that the great monasteries of the realm had competent and uncontroversial leadership. Direct imperial appointments seem to have become more common after the 1103 establishment of the special Chongning, or Wanshou, monasteries during the reign of the emperor Huizong, as discussed in the previous chapter. Since these monasteries were set up specifically to pray for the long life of Huizong, the abbots of the Chongning monasteries were naturally appointed by imperial command, and it seems likely that this precedent inspired imperial appointments to the abbacies

of other monasteries deemed especially important to the state. Thus, the literatus Yue Ke (b. 1183) noted that in the Southern Song, a number of famous monasteries, in particular those affiliated with Chan, became subject to regular imperial appointment.[68] According to a fourteenth-century source, toward the very end of the Song, the powerful statesman Shi Miyuan (1164–1233) instituted a system of "five mountains" and "ten monasteries" that ranked the most prestigious Buddhist monasteries and made official direct imperial appointments to their abbacies. Although such a system is mentioned sporadically in a few other later sources, it is unclear to what extent it was implemented in the Song.[69] In any event, it does not appear that there was a formal system of imperially appointed abbacies in place for most of the Song.[70]

Although imperial appointments carried great prestige and therefore are often mentioned in funerary inscriptions, relatively few monastics were ever appointed to office in this way. Much more common, and of much greater consequence for Chan Buddhism, were the direct appointments made at the prefectural level, where the appointing authority was the prefect. Here, the driving force behind the appointment could be anyone with some power in secular society, from high officials in the central government to local elites without any office. Virtually all Chan masters for whom we have biographical information of any detail are said to have been appointed to various public abbacies by secular authorities, often at the recommendation of high-ranking officials and other members of the educated elite. For example, Daokai's prominent disciple Lumen Fadeng is said to have received his first abbacy when the prefect of Zizhou, Li Gongkuo (d.u.),[71] in 1109 had the abbacy at the Taiping Xingguo Chan monastery in Shandong vacated in order to install Fadeng as its abbot. Later, Fadeng's fame became known by the emperor Huizong, and he was appointed to the abbacy of the Lumen Zhenghe monastery in Xiangyang in 1117 by imperial order.[72]

It is possible that direct appointments to public abbacies were not as ubiquitous as Chan-related sources seem to suggest. By the late twelfth century, there may have been thousands of public monasteries in the Song empire.[73] It seems unlikely that secular authorities and members of the educated elite took a direct interest in the abbacies of all those monasteries, and probably in many cases the selection procedure described in the *Tiaofa shilei* and other sources was more or less followed. But for the Chan transmission families that were prominent enough to be included in the transmission histories and whose members have been remembered in preserved funerary inscriptions, direct appointment by secular authorities seems to have been the norm.

It was therefore of critical importance for members of elite Chan transmission families to be part of a supportive network of highly placed monks, government officials, and influential local literati. Such support was crucial to the survival of particular Chan lineages and to the fulfillment of the personal ambitions of many Chan masters, because without it they would not

be likely to receive abbacies at public monasteries and would not be able to procreate and continue their lineages. Even masters who had already received their first appointments depended on continued secular support for the more prestigious appointments that would enable them to attract the most talented and promising disciples. The educated elite also held economic power and could give important financial support to the masters and monasteries they favored. Imperial appointments were directly linked to the renown a Chan master achieved in literati society, both being a result of such renown and greatly adding to it. Such appointments would often carry with them grants of land to the monastery to which the master was appointed as well as the right to ordain a certain number of disciples yearly, and they no doubt would further attract donations from literati and other laypeople.

It is therefore not surprising to find that Chan masters were active and willing participants in literati culture. In order to gain necessary support, they had to be able to communicate and interact with the educated elite on the elite's own terms and to impress with their erudition, literary skill, and spiritual achievement. The study of extant biographical material reveals extensive contacts between Chan monks and members of the educated elite in the Song, and the recorded sayings collections of many Chan masters contain poems or sermons dedicated to literati, as well as letters written to them. Of course, most Chan masters seem to have come from the same social segment as did the literati, and it is perhaps natural that they should have felt quite comfortable in this setting. Like the secular elite, Song Chan masters usually had a classical education, could write poetry and elegant prose, and participated as equals in gatherings of literati.[74]

Chan masters frequently interacted with officials and literati in face-to-face meetings. In fact, one of the important responsibilities of a Chan master was to entertain visiting officials and high-ranking literati. Literati were also occasionally—maybe frequently—present in the audience when a Chan master gave sermons, and many Chan masters are known to have had extensive exchanges of letters with members of the literati. But, as I have discussed elsewhere, the most important way in which Chan masters communicated with members of the educated elite was through publications.[75] It was common in the Song for the sermons and writings of Chan masters to be recorded and later published as *yulu,* or "recorded sayings." Although the term "recorded sayings" referred to spoken words of a Chan master, such collections would in fact normally contain a number of different types of texts, many of which were directly authored by him, including letters, poems, and inscriptions. Chan masters' collected sermons and dialogues with others, in spite of the emphasis on the oral and spontaneous nature of this material, always bear the marks of carefully composed and edited texts. Although disciples were usually credited as editors of the recorded sayings compilations, there is little doubt that the Chan masters themselves were deeply involved in the shaping of the published products. Once published,

collections of a master's recorded sayings would be scrutinized by a readership largely consisting of members of the educated elite. Thus, elite Chan masters must have been very aware when they gave sermons and lectures that they were communicating with an audience that was much larger than the congregation in front of them and that their main audience was not monastics who aspired to become part of the Chan transmission family but members of the literati community. An elite Chan master's success was very closely connected to how his literary output was received among interested literati.

Unfortunately, few recorded sayings collections are still extant in their original Song editions, and it is generally impossible to determine when individual parts of extant recorded sayings were first published. A Song edition of the recorded sayings of Hongzhi Zhengjue, however, has been preserved in Japan. From this edition, we can gather that publications by Hongzhi probably appeared in 1129, 1131, 1132, 1134, 1137, 1138, the late 1140s, and 1157.[76] Although Hongzhi may have been unusually prolific, there is evidence that other Chan masters also published with some frequency. It is interesting to note that Hongzhi was most actively publishing during the early period of his career and that his publication record seems to have tapered off as he became increasingly famous and well-established as a leading Chan master.

Chan Buddhism and the Southern Song Literati

As I discussed in the previous chapter, many historians find evidence that the Song state had become less activist on a local level by the twelfth century. This was after the increased centralization and extensive intervention in local economy and society of the New Policies, formulated by Wang Anshi, had dominated government in the period 1070–1085 and again in 1093–1124. These polices had been much attacked by traditionalists such as Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) and Su Shi (1037–1101) and were repudiated by the Southern Song government. The Southern Song focused on military defense and seems to have become less interested in social control and local economies. The greater freedom may have benefited local elites, but at the same time the civil bureaucracy stopped expanding, which meant that there were fewer opportunities for the elite to obtain government positions.[77] Furthermore, the literati class as such had grown dramatically over the course of the Northern Song, mostly because of the very large number of children that men with several wives and concubines fathered, but also through its members' intermarriage with wealthy families of lower social standing.[78] The New Policies had also promoted local education, making competition for government positions even more intense.[79] In addition, toward the end of the Northern Song, scholar-officials had become much less secure in their offices than they were earlier in the dynasty due to the factionalism and purges that began with the New Policies regime. In the

Southern Song, factionalism continued, centered around those who promoted an aggressive military stand toward the Jin and those who felt that keeping the peace, in spite of humiliating treatises and expensive tributes, was the better way to preserve the state. In any case, after the eleventh century, no literati family could take it for granted that its sons would serve in the bureaucracy, and those who did enter civil service could no longer expect to serve lifelong careers in government office: sooner or later, virtually every official was bound to become mixed up in the losing end of a factional dispute. The combined effect of these changes meant that many well-educated men were not able to secure or hold onto government positions, and so they had to pursue other careers.[80]

Although not all historians agree that the state retreated from local government in the Southern Song, there is a general sense that the literati from the eleventh century onward increasingly turned their attention toward the local arena.[81] This may have been the case partly because of a vacuum left by the state,[82] but also because of the increasingly large numbers of educated males who were not able to enter the civil service bureaucracy. Thus, local elites became more active and influential in local affairs, even without holding formal office.

The proven military superiority of the "barbarian" Jin dynasty armies and the loss of northern China in 1127 was extremely traumatic for the literati class. Aside from the fact that many lost their lives or property fleeing from the Jin forces, the loss of the North shattered the worldview of the literati. Their belief in the inherent superiority of the Han Chinese race became increasingly difficult to maintain as ever-more-humiliating treaties were accepted by the Chinese court. All these factors seem to have inspired an increased interest among the literati in self-cultivation and transcendence of the mundane.

Many literati were attracted by the strand of Neo-Confucianism that in the middle of the Southern Song was especially advanced by Zhu Xi (known as *daoxue,* "study of the way"), which emphasized personal cultivation and made it clear that a member of the educated elite could fulfill his sacred duty to society without holding government office. The mood of *daoxue* was one of self-confidence; the human mind was seen a reflection of the ultimate cosmic principle, and an ordinary person, with the right kind of study and effort, could be turned into a saint.[83] In spite of its anti-Buddhist rhetoric, *daoxue* may actually have inspired literati to take a greater interest in Buddhism, especially Chan Buddhism, which had a very similar message (and, of course, had been an inspiration for *daoxue*). Furthermore, many literati fleeing the invading Jin forces in 1127 sought refuge in Buddhist monasteries, where they came into contact with Buddhist masters, as well as with Buddhist teachings and literature.[84] Buddhism also was especially strong in the southeastern part of China, where the literati became concentrated after the loss of the North. All this may well have led to greater interest in Buddhism among many members of the educated elite. With the educated

elite wielding more power over monasteries and many exhibiting a great interest in Buddhism, literati support became more crucial than ever to the Buddhist transmission families and the public monasteries with which they were associated.

This combination of social and economic factors caused elite Buddhism from the twelfth century onward to focus to a greater extent than earlier on literati and local government officials in order to obtain needed financial and political support. Reflections of this are found in various twelfth-century sources. In the collection of Chan anecdotes, the *Chanlin baoxun* (Precious admonishments from the groves of Chan), the monk Wan'an Daoyan (1094–1164) is said to have complained that in his day, when literati and officials came to a monastery, they would order the abbot to give a special talk, which he would willingly do. In the old days, says Wan'an, it was not like this; instead, members of the educated elite would respectfully approach Chan masters to learn from them, as was the case with several famous Northern Song literati.[85] It must have been quite clear to the Chan school and to other groups of elite Buddhism that to survive and flourish, it was crucial to gain support from the literati class and local governments. It should not surprise us that this situation in the Southern Song gave rise to increased competition for support among groups of elite monastic Buddhism—not only between the different schools of Buddhism but also between the different Chan traditions.

Conclusion

The importance of the role of secular officials and members of the literati to the fortunes of elite Buddhism in general and the Chan school in particular can hardly be exaggerated. In the system that took shape during the Northern Song, members of the educated elite came to play a crucial part in the selection of which Chan transmission families were able to procreate, and during the Southern Song the importance of their role only intensified.

Much of the system that developed can be viewed as an oppressive usurpation of religious authority and autonomy. But the state and the secular elite had always been integrally involved in Chinese Buddhism, and in Chan in particular, and this involvement was largely accepted and embraced by the monastic leadership. For transmission families in the Song, it provided some security that their lineages would be kept pure and under orthodox control, making it more difficult for someone to claim a lineage without having gone through the proper channels. For individual transmission family members, the system of public monasteries could also be used to further their careers. There is little doubt that Buddhist masters at times could gain considerable influence with powerful literati and often were behind the scenes when a hereditary monastery was converted into a public one and a particular monastic installed as its abbot.

The success of a Chan master and his lineage was to a large degree de-

pendent on his ability and willingness to participate in literati culture, and a Chan master whose writings, conversation, or demeanor lacked appeal for the literati had little chance of success. The reputations and teaching styles that the literati community came to associate with particular Chan lineages were also crucial for the success of all members of the lineage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the success of the revival of the Caodong tradition that began in the late eleventh century was closely linked to the reputations that its leading architects gained among the literati.

CHAPTER 4

A New Chan Tradition

The Reinvention of the Caodong Lineage in the Song

Thus far, I have argued for the great influence certain government policies had on the formation of the Chan school in the Song. I have also shown that the individual Chan lineages were highly dependent on government officials and other members of the educated elite for crucial political and economic support, without which they would not have been able to succeed. Further, I have argued that important political and social shifts that took place around the transition from the Northern to the Southern Song had a significant impact on the Chan school: government policies became less favorable to the Chan school, and the class of the educated elite became more powerful at the local level and showed increasing interest in self-cultivation. These factors, I argue, led to intensified competition for lay patronage within elite monastic Buddhism and created an environment in which different Chan transmission families had to compete with one another for relatively finite resources and support.

In the late eleventh century, at the time these changes were under way, the Caodong tradition began to undergo a remarkable revival. From having almost died out, it became a major force in elite monastic Buddhism over just a few generations. The revived Caodong tradition has been associated with the single issue that is best remembered about Song-dynasty Chan Buddhism in the East Asian Buddhist world: the debate between the proponents of "silent illumination" (*mozhao*) on the one side and kanhua Chan on the other. Silent illumination is inextricably linked with the Caodong tradition, while kanhua Chan is seen as the hallmark of the Linji Chan tradition. However, much about the development of silent illumination and kanhua Chan has not been fully understood. The issue is mainly known from the vigorous attacks on silent illumination made by the famous Linji master Dahui Zonggao, and there has been some discussion about who it really was that Dahui had in mind with his attacks. I shall show in later chapters that Dahui in fact targeted the Caodong teachings and that the Caodong tradition of the twelfth century had indeed developed an approach to Buddhist practice and enlightenment that may reasonably be called "silent illumination."

Ultimately, the reemergence of the Caodong tradition set in motion a chain of events that led to a new self-consciousness within Chan and a sec-

tarianism paralleled in Chan history only by the controversy between the so-called Northern and Southern schools of Chan during the Tang dynasty. To understand these developments, we first have to turn to an examination of the history of the momentous revival of the Song Caodong lineage, which will be the subject of this chapter.

The Rise of the New Caodong Transmission Family

Although the Chan school dominated elite Buddhism throughout the early Song period, the Caodong tradition was not successful in elite circles through most of the Northern Song. During this period, other Chan transmission families dominated, and those who could claim descent from either Yunmen Wenyan or Linji Yixuan produced the majority of successful Chan masters. According to the transmission histories, the main ancestor of the Caodong tradition, Dongshan Liangjie, had many disciples, as did his student Caoshan Benji, who was considered the cofounder of the tradition, and descendants in their lineages flourished for several generations. By the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the number of Caodong masters had become quite small. The *Chuandeng lu* lists fifty-five third-generation descendants of Liangjie but only ten fourth-generation descendants, and in the fifth generation only one person is listed.[1] Later transmission histories found several more fourth- and fifth-generation descendants in the Caodong lineage, but the picture of a drastically shrinking lineage remains.

In fact, the Caodong tradition was considered to have almost disappeared during the eleventh century. As noted earlier, shortly before 1061, Qisong reported of the state of the various Chan traditions: "Today, the followers of the families of the Yunmen, the Linji, and the Fayan are in great abundance. But the Guiyang [family] has already become extinct, and the Caodong barely exists, feeble like a lonely spring during a great drought."[2] The demise of the Caodong tradition appears to have seemed imminent to Qisong, and probably to his contemporaries as well.

But the perception of the Caodong tradition was about to change even as Qisong was writing, and a few decades later a dramatic revival of the Caodong lineage was already under way. Thus, writing sometime after 1108, the learned monk Juefan Huihong lamented that for a long time only the Linji and Yunmen traditions had really flourished and that the Caodong tradition had been dwindling away.[3] But its fortunes were changing, Huihong noted: "In the Yuanfeng period [1078–1086], a great master by the name of Daokai was being highly praised in Luoyang. When he was asked about his transmission lineage, he answered that he was the heir of Touzi Qing Huayan. Master Qing was the true son of Dayang. This means he [Daokai] was a seventh-generation descendant of Dongshan [Liangjie]."[4] The subject of Huihong's text was the Caodong monk Furong Daokai, who in the years after 1082 was the abbot at two different monasteries in the Luoyang area. The "Touzi Qing Huayan" mentioned here is Touzi Yiqing (1032–1083), and

"Dayang" is Dayang Jingxuan (942–1027), the only fifth-generation descendant of Dongshan Liangjie and the last monk of the Caodong lineage to be included in the *Chuandeng lu.*[5]

It seems clear that Huihong considered the appearance of Daokai in Luoyang, the western capital of the Song,[6] to represent a decisive change in the fortunes of the Caodong tradition. Although Huihong appears to have expected his audience to be unfamiliar with Daokai (and used Dayang Jingxuan as a familiar point of reference), by 1108 Daokai had become very well known in elite Buddhist circles, and a number of his students had already become established as abbots of public monasteries. Furthermore, a fellow disciple of Daokai under Touzi Yiqing, Dahong Baoen, was also highly successful and played a similarly significant role in the revival of the fortunes of the Caodong tradition.[7] In his text, Huihong emphasizes the legitimacy of Touzi Yiqing by referring to him as the "true son" of Dayang Jingxuan. The legitimacy of Yiqing could well be called into question: as we shall see, all accounts of his transmission make it clear that he did not receive it from Dayang Jingxuan personally but rather through a master in the Linji tradition who held it "in trust" from Jingxuan.

Huihong's transmission family belonged to the Linji tradition, but he was clearly very impressed with Daokai and his descendants, and he wrote several other biographies and eulogies for members of the new Caodong tradition in Daokai's lineage. These writings seem to have played a central role in endorsing and legitimizing the new Caodong tradition and the lineage it claimed for itself. Huihong was a high-profile Chan monk who, because of his literary skills and prolific writings, was popular with many in literati society, and his words must have carried considerable weight.[8] There is no record of Huihong ever having met Daokai, and although he did meet Daokai's disciple Kumu Facheng (1071–1128) in 1119[9] and likely was acquainted with Danxia Zichun, another disciple,[10] it is not entirely clear why Huihong was such an advocate for the new Caodong tradition.

Still, Huihong was far from alone in his admiration. A few years after he wrote the text cited above, the scholar Liu Qi (d.u.)[11] echoed his remarks in a preface for a collection of Furong Daokai's writings: "After Dongshan [Liangjie], there were five generations, and then the tradition almost expired. But one generation after Touzi [Yiqing], it is now greatly flourishing."[12] Many other Song authors commented that early in the dynasty, only the Yunmen and Linji traditions thrived, but that the Caodong tradition's fortunes changed when Daokai came along.[13] In the *Xudeng lu,* which was completed sometime before 1101, Daokai and Baoen were already being given substantial entries. These entries must have been added only a few years after Baoen was reported to have taken up his first post as an abbot and when Daokai had not yet reached the height of his career, and they indicate the early success of the two masters—and perhaps also the promise they were perceived to hold as revivers of the Caodong tradition.

In his preface to the *Xudeng lu,* discussed in chapter 1, the emperor Hui-

zong notes that five different Chan traditions had come into being among the spiritual descendants of the sixth patriarch, Huineng. He adds: "Each has spread wide its influence and put forth luxuriant foliage, but the two traditions of Yunmen and Linji now dominate the whole world."[14] Huizong's emphasis on the Linji and Yunmen traditions reflects the text and organization of the *Xudeng lu,* but the work also made a crucial contribution to the early stages of the Caodong revival. Not only are Daokai and Baoen discussed in fairly long records, but the *Xudeng lu* further honors Daokai by including two of his disciples.[15] Since neither of these disciples appears to have been very prominent (they are otherwise virtually unknown), it would seem their inclusion in the *Xudeng lu* mainly functions to enhance the stature of Daokai. The *Xudeng lu* further contains the earliest known biography of Touzi Yiqing, the master of Daokai and Baoen, with the story of his most-unusual transmission.

A total of seven descendants of Yiqing are listed in the *Xudeng lu,*[16] but the record of only one disciple besides Daokai and Baoen is included, and it is very short.[17] The compiler notes that he did not have access to any records of Yiqing's other disciples.[18] No other descendants in Daokai and Baoen's generation in other lineages of the Caodong tradition are mentioned in the *Xudeng lu* or in any other source. Although later Chan transmission histories found other disciples of Yiqing, they remain totally obscure, and none of them has any descendants listed anywhere.[19] Only Daokai and Baoen are known from sources other than the Chan histories. This means that in the beginning of the twelfth century, when the *Xudeng lu* was written, elite Buddhist circles considered Daokai and Baoen to be the only existing successful representatives of the Caodong tradition, and it must have appeared to their contemporaries (and no doubt to themselves) that the future of the entire Caodong tradition rested on their shoulders. Any other descendants in Yiqing's lineage who were active at the time of Daokai and Baoen—and there likely were some—were rendered invisible in this hegemonic narrative.

Both Daokai and Baoen had a number of disciples. The disciples of Daokai were especially successful, but the peak of the Caodong tradition's eminence and influence came with several of Daokai's second-generation disciples, including the famous Hongzhi Zhengjue; Zhenxie Qingliao, who became the ancestor in the Japanese Sōtō founder Dōgen's lineage; and, to a lesser extent, Huizhao Qingyu.[20] It must be partly due to the success, power, and prestige of the second generation after Daokai and Baoen that so much information on these two masters and their disciples is still extant.

The Careers of Daokai and Baoen

There is no doubt that Daokai and Baoen were not just elevated to ancestral status by the later tradition but were highly successful as elite Buddhist masters and revivers of the Caodong lineage.[21] They emerged in their own time as illustrious monks who had powerful friends among members of the edu-

cated elite and bureaucracy, and they are reported to have had interactions with the very highest level of the court—even with the emperor himself. Daokai and Baoen both served in some of the most prestigious monasteries in the empire and must have been known throughout the elite Buddhist and literati communities. They gained reputations for monastic discipline, setting a precedent that was to last for several generations, and their legacy lent strength to later generations in the Caodong lineage that established the Caodong tradition as one of the two major branches of Chinese Chan Buddhism.

Furong Daokai was, at least in retrospect, the most important figure in the Caodong revival, and extant sources have much of interest to say about his life. The earliest biography of Daokai is found in Huihong's *Sengbao zhuan*.[22] A funerary inscription from 1127 that adds some interesting details is also extant.[23] Huihong states that Daokai developed a serious interest in Daoism at an early age, avoiding grain, practicing Daoist techniques, and eventually living as a hermit in the mountains.[24] After some time, apparently frustrated with his Daoist studies, Daokai went to the capital, Kaifeng, and registered at a monastery to become a Buddhist monastic. He then passed the examinations and became a full-fledged monk.[25] After traveling around to visit various Buddhist masters, Daokai finally went to meet Touzi Yiqing and, after an exchange with him, experienced a great enlightenment. In 1082, Daokai left Yiqing and shortly thereafter received his first post as an abbot at a public monastery. Soon, Daokai was transferred to Luoyang, where he served at the famous Zhaoti (better known as Baima) and Longmen monasteries. Huihong notes that it was during this period that Daokai became well known in literati society. After this, Daokai was made the abbot at Mount Dayang in Yingzhou, where Dayang Jingxuan had lived for many years, and later, probably in 1103 when Baoen vacated its seat, he was moved to Dahong in Suizhou, also in central Hubei. Huihong emphasizes that Daokai took up these abbacies at the urging of esteemed and high-ranking officials, although he does not name them. Daokai was now a famous Chan master, and, according to Huihong, the tradition of Dongshan Liangjie "greatly resounded through the world."[26]

In 1104,[27] Daokai was appointed to the abbacy at the Shifang Jingyin Chan monastery in Kaifeng by imperial edict. This represented the beginning of a new stage in Daokai's career. The capital was by far the most prestigious place to serve, and Daokai took up the post by an order signed by the emperor himself. In the winter of 1107, Daokai was moved to another monastery in Kaifeng, the Tianning Wanshou. Huihong notes that Daokai was pressured by imperial envoys to take up the post and that he could not refuse.[28] As discussed earlier, the Tianning monasteries (originally called Chongning) had been set up in each prefecture by imperial order in 1103 specifically for the purpose of praying for the long life of the emperor Huizong and generally accruing merit for him. Because of their close association with the emperor, it must have been a great honor to serve at one of these

monasteries, and the abbacy of the Tianning monastery in the capital must have been the most prestigious position of all. High-minded clergy were disturbed by Huizong's policies, however, and Huihong clearly suggests that Daokai was not happy with his new position. Shortly after Daokai had moved to the Tianning monastery, the governor of Kaifeng, Li Xiaoshou (d.u.),[29] petitioned Emperor Huizong for recognition of Daokai's merits, and Daokai was bestowed with a purple robe and the honorific "Dingzhao."[30]

It was no doubt standard procedure for abbots serving at the Tianning monastery in the capital to be given the highest honors. The bestowal of these signs of imperial recognition on Daokai gave rise to an unusual incident, however, that did much to add to the reputation of Daokai and the emerging new Caodong tradition. The incident is the main topic of Huihong's earlier-cited text about Daokai, and the *Sengbao zhuan* here follows its narrative closely. The story goes as follows: Upon receiving notification of the honors, Daokai displayed the appropriate signs of thankfulness for the imperial favor and then wrote a letter to Huizong declining to accept. In his letter, Daokai argued that as a monk, he had vowed not to seek worldly fame and profit and that he would not be fit as a teacher if he broke this vow.[31] Daokai's reply must have puzzled the emperor, since Song Buddhist clergy rarely seemed averse to accepting imperial honors, and the purple robe was a highly coveted prize among abbots.[32] In a display of magnitude that indicates how illustrious Daokai had become, the emperor sent Li Xiaoshou in person to Daokai to proclaim the good intentions of the court. When Daokai still did not change his mind, the emperor was greatly angered and dispatched an official to inform Daokai that he would be punished. The sympathetic messenger tried to help Daokai avoid punishment by suggesting that he plead illness. But Daokai refused to do so, saying that although he was often ill, he was at the moment very healthy. This pointed snub did nothing to deflect the imperial anger, and Daokai was consequently defrocked and sent in strict exile to Zizhou near modern Jinan in his home province, Shandong.[33] People from all over the city came to watch as Daokai left for his exile, and everyone was crying, but Daokai himself remained completely composed.[34] In his retelling of this story, Huihong clearly implies that Daokai's rejection of the imperial honors, especially in the context of his refusal to plead illness, was a protest against the religious policies of Emperor Huizong, and this is no doubt how his contemporaries saw it. Aside from his disapproval of the emperor's policies, Daokai also genuinely seems to have held strict views on monasticism, as is evidenced in a text attributed to him, the *Qiyuan zhengyi* (Correct standards of the Jetavana [model monastery]).[35]

Although Daokai was no longer officially a Buddhist monk, Huihong notes, monks from everywhere followed him to Zizhou.[36] Daokai's punishment, however, did not last long. During the winter of the following year, an imperial order released Daokai from his exile and restored him to clerical status.[37] The funerary inscription notes that this was after Daokai sent a

poem describing his feelings to the official Wang Songnian (d.u.),[38] who was close to the emperor. Daokai's poem spread by word of mouth among the people, and when Li Xiaoshou heard it, he realized the master's honest nature and petitioned that he be allowed to do as he wished.[39] The inscription goes on to relate how Daokai originally had intended to travel to Zhejiang, but when he came through his old village, he had to stay there because of his father's old age. Then, with the economic support of the high official Liu Fengshi (1041–1113),[40] Daokai set up a small monastery at Lake Furong, south of modern Linyi in Shandong province.[41] The inscription also includes a story about how Daokai organized the local farmers to successfully claim several hundred acres of arable land from Lake Furong. The grateful villagers vied to donate land to his monastery, and, after a plentiful harvest, the surplus was given for the purchase of a nearby mountain. Later, several hundred people were also given to Daokai's monastery.[42] In the winter of 1117, Daokai's monastery was conferred a plaque by imperial decree that gave it the name "Huayan Chan monastery."[43] This indicates that Daokai had been fully rehabilitated, and his contemporaries must have perceived the bestowal of the plaque as a great victory for him.[44] The next year, in 1118, on the fourteenth day of the fifth month, Daokai passed away.

At the end of the inscription, we are told that the master reached the old age of seventy-five and that he had been a monk for forty-two years at the time of his death. Ninety-three people were ordained under him (*dudizi*). Twenty-nine of his dharma heirs served as the abbots of various monasteries. The inscription also states that in the second generation after Daokai, the disciples of Danxia Zichun were especially great, and Huizhao Qingyu, Zhenxie Qingliao, and Hongzhi Zhengjue are all mentioned.[45]

Huihong adds a note to Daokai's biography relating how Yiqing sent the robe and shoes that he had inherited from Jingxuan to Daokai when he first took up the abbacy at Dayang, bestowing them on him.[46] Huihong further cemented Daokai's status as the main figure in the Caodong revival by attaching a note to Touzi Yiqing's biography in the *Sengbao zhuan* saying that "Yiqing's primary heir was the Chan master Daokai."[47] In this way, Huihong strongly conveyed the message that Yiqing chose Daokai as his successor and most worthy heir, clearly establishing Daokai's superiority over his (unmentioned) dharma brother Dahong Baoen.

Although Huihong elevated Daokai over Baoen and Baoen did not receive nearly as much attention in later Chan history as did Daokai, in his own day Baoen must have been a very illustrious Buddhist master, perhaps even more so than Daokai. The earliest source that includes any biographical information on Baoen is the text about the Lingfeng monastery at Mount Dahong from 1102 written by the famous statesman Zhang Shangying, cited in chapter 2.[48] Baoen was the abbot at Dahong when Zhang wrote the inscription, and it is clearly written mainly in honor of Baoen. A funerary inscription dated to 1113 by the scholar Fan Yu (d.u.),[49] however, provides the most detailed biography of Baoen.[50] According to Fan's inscription, in

1076, when Baoen was still not of "capping age" (not yet twenty years old), he passed the military exams and was appointed to a post in Beidu.[51] After some time in that position, Baoen concluded that life as an official was not satisfying and expressed his wish to become a monk. Eventually, the emperor Shenzong personally granted Baoen his wish and gave him the ordination name "Baoen." After his ordination, Baoen traveled to various Buddhist centers. He then heard about the teachings of Yiqing and, finding them attractive, went to study with him. After a short time, Baoen experienced a great enlightenment while in a dialogue with Yiqing.[52] He stayed on with Yiqing for several years until the master passed away. After Yiqing's death, Baoen is said to have visited the two well-known Yunmen masters, Fayun Faxiu (here called "Yuantong Faxiu") and Yuanzhao Zongben (1020–1100), both of whom recognized his great abilities. Later, probably in 1094, the governor of Henan prefecture, Han Zhen (1019–1097; he later became grand counselor),[53] invited Baoen to become the abbot at the Shaolin monastery at Songshan.[54] Baoen's seat there "had still not become warm" when the hereditary monastery at Mount Dahong in Suizhou was converted to a public Chan monastery in 1094.[55] Since this was a large monastery that had fallen into disrepair, it was felt that only a very capable master could restore it to its former glory. High-ranking officials petitioned for Baoen to be made the abbot, and Grand Counselor Fan Chunren (1027–1101)[56] saw to it that he was appointed. Later, in 1103, Baoen was ordered by imperial edict to take up the abbacy at the Fayun monastery in the capital, Kaifeng. This prestigious post had been requested for Baoen by the emperor's in-law Zhang Dunli (d.u.).[57] Baoen preferred the quiet of remote places, however, and after less than a year he asked to be released. The court was unwilling to let him go, but eventually it acceded to his wishes. Somewhat later, the abbacy at the nearby Mount Dahong became vacant (this was after Daokai had left, probably in 1104), and after officials had twice petitioned on his behalf, Baoen was returned to his old seat in 1106. There Baoen remained as the abbot until his death in 1111. The inscription adds that 131 people were ordained under Baoen, and a monk by the name of Zongyan (d.u.) is listed as representative of them.[58] Baoen is also said to have had 13 dharma heirs who served as abbots at public monasteries (*chushi*), and Qingdan (d.u.) is mentioned as an example.[59]

Daokai and Baoen are both credited with authoring several texts. Daokai's funerary inscription mentions that a collection of his recorded sayings was in circulation,[60] and he is also known to have authored a collection of poems, although neither of these texts is extant.[61] The short piece attributed to Daokai entitled *Qiyuan zhengyi,* which contains admonishments for monks, is still found in several sources. A short commentary to the *Heart Sūtra* is also attributed to Daokai, but it seems likely that this is a later Japanese compilation.[62] No work attributed to Baoen is still extant, but his funerary inscription mentions several interesting titles. In addition to a collection of recorded sayings in three fascicles, Baoen authored a work of one

fascicle entitled *Shou putixin jiewen* (Receiving the Bodhicitta precepts) and another called *Loufa shoujie yiwen* (Ceremonies for taking the tonsure and receiving the precepts), also of one fascicle. He also wrote a text of three fascicles with the title *Caodong zongpai lu* (Record of the Caodong lineages).[63] It is noteworthy that both Daokai and Baoen seem to have been concerned with monastic purity and proper ordination procedures, a concern that appears to have helped enhance their reputations in elite secular society. The most intriguing title here, however, is Baoen's work on the Caodong tradition, because it seems likely that much of the new information on the Caodong lineage that appeared in Buddhist histories around this time derived from Baoen's work.

Although Baoen clearly had close relations with some very illustrious personages, Daokai seems to have been more widely known in literati society, and his personality and teachings apparently appealed strongly to many members of the literati. A number of extant secular sources contain references to Daokai. The writings of the literatus Chao Buzhi (1053–1110) contain a letter to Daokai written in 1109 that clearly indicates that Chao considered himself a follower of Daokai.[64] A number of sources contain a story about the Confucian scholar Zhang Yi (active 1107),[65] who was so taken with Daokai's teachings that he ordained as a monk under him, although he later became a follower of the famed Neo-Confucian thinker Cheng Yi (1033–1107).[66] The collected writings of the scholar Zhou Xingji (1067–1125?) include a poem written to Daokai in which Zhou laments that he has not seen Daokai for thirteen years and so has been unable to discuss the Caodong teachings at a high level.[67] Shao Baiwen (1057–1134), another contemporary of Daokai's, admiringly tells the story of Daokai's refusal of the imperial honors and his subsequent exile, although it does not seem he ever met Daokai in person.[68] Another person who also probably never met Daokai, Cai Tao (active 1127), also approvingly relates the story.[69] Furthermore, several sources tell of how Daokai, while staying in a small mountain hermitage, took a pair of tiger cubs from their den to warm his feet one cold night. When the tiger mother showed up, Daokai explained the situation, and the tiger peacefully went away with her two cubs.[70] All this shows how well known and popular with members of the literati Daokai became in his own lifetime.

Constructing the New Caodong Tradition

Like other Song-dynasty Chan masters, Daokai and Baoen needed to communicate with an audience of literati interested in Buddhism and Chan in order to be successful Chan masters. But Daokai and Baoen could not just be content to publish sermons and writings reflecting their spiritual insights and literary talents; as revivers of an almost-expired tradition, they also had to address issues of lineage and hagiography in the earlier Caodong tradition in order to establish their own legitimacy.

The most serious problem Daokai and Baoen faced with the legitimacy

of their lineage concerned their own master, Touzi Yiqing. The status of Yiqing was absolutely crucial to Daokai and Baoen, because he was their link to Dayang Jingxuan, the last Caodong master recorded in the extremely influential Chan history the *Jingde chuandeng lu.* The authority and preeminence of this work was such that to be considered a legitimate lineage holder in elite Chan Buddhism, it was imperative for a Song Chan master to be able to claim a direct link to an ancestor in it.

Biographies of Yiqing appear in a number of different sources, but, significantly, all of them date to or after the time of Daokai and Baoen. Ishii Shūdō has collected what appear to be the seven earliest biographies of Yiqing and juxtaposed them according to the periods of Yiqing's life, thus greatly facilitating the study of the development of Yiqing's biography.[71] When the seven biographies are compared, it becomes clear that the version found in the *Xudeng lu*—the oldest of the biographies, dating to a time when Daokai and Baoen were still alive—in many ways differs from the other six, all of which are very similar. Of these six, the two oldest and longest texts are the entry about Yiqing in the *Sengbao zhuan* and the anonymously authored biography (*xingzhuang*) attached to the Chinese edition of Yiqing's recorded sayings, the *Touzi Qing heshang yulu* (Recorded sayings of the venerable Qing from Touzi). Internal evidence in the latter suggests that it must have been written sometime after 1106, possibly by Daokai's disciple Jingyin Zijue (d. 1117).[72] This biography (hereafter referred to as the *Yiqing xingzhuang* [Biography of Yiqing]) and the account in the *Sengbao zhuan* are very close in content and wording, but sometimes one includes details not found in the other, and it seems reasonable to assume that they are both based on a common source, most likely Baoen's *Caodong zongpai lu,* rather than one being based on the other. Baoen's work was probably not available to the compiler of the *Xudeng lu,* which was published in 1101, whereas Huihong, writing the *Sengbao zhuan* in the years before 1124, must have known it. The author of Yiqing's biography must also have made use of it, although I will show in chapter 7 that he embellished it in significant ways.

The fact that the 1101 *Xudeng lu* includes a biography of Yiqing is noteworthy. The *Xudeng lu,* like other Chan transmission histories, is concerned with genealogy and offers excerpts of teachings and sermons but rarely contains much biographical information. The entry on Yiqing is therefore somewhat unusual, and it would appear that the compiler must have felt that there were special reasons to include biographical material on him. In the *Xudeng lu,* Touzi Yiqing is listed, together with nine other monks, as a disciple of Dayang Jingxuan.[73] This list of Jingxuan's disciples appears for the first time in the *Xudeng lu;* the *Guangdeng lu* from 1036 mentions eight disciples of Jingxuan, but only one name appears in both lists.[74] It is interesting that the *Xudeng lu* introduces so many new descendants of Jingxuan—clearly a way of enhancing his importance. The disciples themselves hardly seem to have been considered noteworthy: only two records of them are included, one of which consists of only a few lines.

The one substantial record is that of Touzi Yiqing, with its long biogra-

phy.[75] This is the earliest mention of Yiqing found in any history and possibly the earliest reference to him anywhere. The *Xudeng lu* reports that Yiqing first became a postulant when he was eight years old and that he later became a great lecturer on sūtras and śāstras. He eventually became interested in Chan, and after having visited several masters, he came to Fushan Fayuan (991–1067). Fayuan recognized Yiqing as a person of great potential and accepted him as a disciple (*xu rushi*). He then instructed Yiqing in the story about the Buddha being questioned by a non-Buddhist (*waidao wen Fo*).[76] One day when Yiqing was sitting in a hermitage above the monastery, he was thinking of this story, and when he heard the sounding board being hit (in the monastery below?), he experienced a great enlightenment. When Yiqing presented Fayuan with his enlightenment experience, Fayuan told him:

> "In the past, I received Chan master Ming'an's [Dayang Jingxuan's] portrait, together with his robe and leather shoes. He instructed me to find a dharma vessel to continue his tradition. I see that your understanding does not fall short of the former excellence." [Fayuan] then told him [Dayang Jingxuan's] prediction verse. Quoting it, he said: "You must continue Dayang's tradition and style for me." The verse said:
>
> The grass on top of Yangguang mountain,[77]
> depends on you for its enrichment and purification;
> where outstanding sprouts mix and flourish,
> profound and dense, the spiritual roots are strengthened.[78]

At that time, the abbacy at Haihui monastery at Mount Baiyun[79] was empty, and Yiqing was called on to fill it. After some years there, he was promoted to the abbacy at Mount Touzi. The *Xudeng lu* then provides excerpts of Yiqing's sermons and encounters with disciples. This section is quite long, and it would appear that the editor of the *Xudeng lu* had access to much material relating to Yiqing. At the end of the entry, the *Xudeng lu* reports that on the first day of the fifth month in 1082, Yiqing covered himself with a white robe, wrote a death poem, and passed away. When he was cremated, *śarīra* (relics) were found.[80]

In this very simple way, the *Xudeng lu* tells a stunning tale of a shifted transmission that has no real parallel in earlier Chan literature. In the *Xudeng lu* and in all subsequent Buddhist histories that include him, Yiqing is listed as the disciple of Dayang Jingxuan, even though the two never met and the real transmission came from Fushan Fayuan, who is said to have "held it in trust" from Dayang Jingxuan. Fayuan is presented as something like an heir to Dayang Jingxuan who had the authority to pass on Jingxuan's transmission, although he was not in Jingxuan's lineage. How Fayuan received this authority is not explained in the *Xudeng lu*. In Fayuan's biography in the *Xudeng lu*, Dayang Jingxuan is merely listed among the other

masters that Fayuan is said to have visited, and the story of Jingxuan's transmission is not repeated. There is no mention of Yiqing in the entry on Fushan Fayuan.[81] The *Xudeng lu*'s treatment of Yiqing's special transmission thus appears rather incomplete.

In later accounts, however, much was clarified. In the entry on Fushan Fayuan in the *Sengbao zhuan,* Huihong elucidates Fayuan's relationship with Dayang Jingxuan. He relates that Fayuan visited Jingxuan during the Tianxi period (1017–1022) and that the two monks were immediately in perfect accord. Huihong continues: "Jingxuan sighed and said: 'I am already old, and then there will be no one left in the Caodong tradition!' Then he presented Fayuan with his robe and leather shoes. Fayuan said: 'What if I take your robe and shoes and find a person to whom I can pass them on?' Jingxuan agreed, saying, 'If you really someday find someone, give them this verse as a proof.' . . . [The verse quoted above follows.] At the end of the verse, he said: 'The person who obtains my dharma must hide among the common people for ten years before he starts expounding it.' Fayuan received it with a bow and took leave."[82] The *Yiqing xingzhuang* contains the same main points but adds that Fayuan had already visited over seventy masters before he came to Jingxuan, with whom he studied for several years before he had a silent breakthrough. In this account, Fayuan is made to directly state that he already had a Chan transmission in the Linji lineage and therefore could not receive Jingxuan's transmission.[83]

The *Sengbao zhuan* and the *Yiqing xingzhuang* both relate that after arriving at Fushan, Yiqing stayed with Fayuan for three years. One day, Fayuan asked Yiqing about the story of the Buddha being questioned by a non-Buddhist, and as he was about to answer, Fayuan covered Yiqing's mouth with his hand. This triggered Yiqing's enlightenment. Only after another three years did Fayuan transmit Dayang Jingxuan's Caodong lineage to Yiqing. Huihong relates the event in this way: "Fayuan presented Yiqing with Jingxuan's leather shoes and robe and said: 'Take my place in continuing the tradition of Dongshan. I shall not remain long in this world. Be very careful with yourself and do not stay here any longer.'"[84] According to both the *Yiqing xingzhuang* and the *Sengbao zhuan,* Yiqing left Fushan after having received Jingxuan's transmission from Fayuan and went to the Huiri monastery at Lushan, where he continued to study the Buddhist canon. In 1073, he was invited to become abbot at the Haihui monastery, and he took up this post exactly ten years after he had obtained Jingxuan's transmission.[85] The *Yiqing xingzhuang* specifies that the transmission took place in 1064.[86]

The version of Yiqing's biography that appears in the *Yiqing xingzhuang* and the *Sengbao zhuan* adds several interesting elements to the story. First of all, it establishes a very clear parallel between Yiqing's receiving the transmission from Jingxuan and the legend of the famous sixth patriarch of Chan, Huineng, receiving the transmission from the fifth patriarch, Hongren. In the *Platform Sūtra,* Hongren secretly passes his transmission and the Chan patriarchy to Huineng and gives him his robe as a proof. He also tells

Huineng that he, Hongren, will die within the year and that people might harm Huineng, who must hide himself for five years.[87] Already in the *Xudeng lu,* the parallel to the story of Huineng is foreshadowed in the description of the passing down of the robe and shoes and in the implicit message that only one person could receive the transmission. In the *Sengbao zhuan* and the *Yiqing xingzhuang,* the correspondence to the sixth patriarch's transmission is taken much further when Jingxuan states that his line will die out if this transmission is not passed on, as well as when Fayuan predicts that he will soon die after giving Yiqing the transmission, explains that people might harm Yiqing, and insists that Yiqing must hide for ten years. The later version of the story also serves to explain in a more direct way why Jingxuan had to let Fayuan take "custody" of his transmission: he had no heirs who could carry on his tradition. This theme was elaborated upon by Huihong, who explains in a note attached to the *Sengbao zhuan*'s biography of Jingxuan that Jingxuan had two promising disciples who both died early.[88] This explanation, which very likely originated with Daokai and Baoen, is contradicted in the transmission histories; the *Xudeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* list seventeen direct heirs of Jingxuan altogether, and nowhere is the unlikely claim made that every one of them passed away before his master.

The new Caodong tradition and its sympathizers remained in an awkward position in attempting to explain how a Linji master came to carry the Caodong transmission: they could not, of course, maintain that Dayang Jingxuan had to enlist the help of Fushan Fayuan because none of Jingxuan's own heirs was capable. But others did not have the same qualms, and the Caodong critic Dahui Zonggao tells an interesting story about Attendant Ping (d.u.), who had obtained the Way (*dao*) of Dayang Jingxuan. When Jingxuan lamented that the demise of the Caodong tradition was not far off, two visiting Chan masters suggested that Ping could continue it. Dahui relates that Jingxuan then pointed to his chest, saying that Ping was deficient there, and predicted an untimely end for him. Later, Ping became the abbot at Mount Yang and committed the highly unfilial act of burning Jingxuan's mummified body because he felt it created bad *fengshui* for him. This prompted the authorities to strip him of his monastic status, and he was shunned by other monastics.[89] A late-Ming-dynasty (1368–1644) work, the *Bu xu gaoseng zhuan* (Supplemented continuation of the biographies of eminent monks), adds that Ping later became destitute and in the end was eaten by a tiger.[90]

In any case, the new Caodong tradition seems to have been stuck with Yiqing's unusual transmission, and although the story was occasionally used to attack the emerging Caodong lineage, it apparently did not present a serious liability.[91] As I have mentioned, the version of the story of Yiqing's transmission found in the *Sengbao zhuan* and the *Yiqing xingzhuang* is almost certainly based directly on Baoen's *Caodong zongpai lu.* It is possible, however, that the story of Yiqing's transmission dates back to Yiqing himself. In his extant recorded sayings, Yiqing states in his first sermon that he received

Dayang Jingxuan's transmission from Fayuan in the beginning of the Zhiping era (1064–1068).[92] This could, of course, be a later addition, but the transmission is also mentioned in a text dated 1084 (the year after Yiqing's death) that appears as a preface to Yiqing's recorded sayings and is attributed to Li Chongyuan (d.u.).[93] This text is also used as the preface to Yiqing's collection of poetic gongan commentary included in the 1342 *Sijia lu* (Record of four masters).[94] The text is a poetic praise of Yiqing as the reviver of the Caodong tradition. It tells of Dayang Jingxuan's difficulty in finding an heir and of how Fushan Fayuan finally came along and passed Jingxuan's transmission on to Yiqing. Some aspects of the story seem better developed here than in the *Xudeng lu,* which suggests a later origin, but it may simply be that the editor of the *Xudeng lu* did not know the text. Li Chongyuan was not especially well known, and if the text was a forgery, it would likely have been attributed to a more illustrious person.

The credentials of Touzi Yiqing and his link to Dayang Jingxuan were the most crucial elements in the new Caodong tradition's attempts to gain legitimacy and prestige for itself. Jingxuan had a secure position in the Chan lineage, enshrined as he was in the *Chuandeng lu.* But the *Chuandeng lu* did not include any biographical information on Jingxuan, and his record in this work is not especially long.[95] It is not surprising that new information about Jingxuan, now the focal ancestor for the revived Caodong tradition, began to appear in the twelfth century. The *Xudeng lu* does not have any information about Jingxuan or the earlier part of his lineage, but the *Sengbao zhuan* has a long entry on him that includes a biography.[96] This is the earliest source for Jingxuan's biography.

The *Sengbao zhuan* tells us that the master was called Jingxuan, although at some point he had to change his name to Jingyan to avoid an imperial taboo.[97] He entered the Buddhist order under his father's younger brother, Zhitong (d.u.),[98] who was the abbot at a monastery in Nanking, and at the age of nineteen Jingxuan became a full-fledged monk. After an incident in which Jingxuan demonstrated his superior understanding of the *Yuanjue jing* (Scripture of perfect enlightenment),[99] Zhitong sent him off to visit other masters. Jingxuan went directly to Caodong master Liangshan Yuanguan (d.u.). Following a word exchange with Yuanguan, Jingxuan experienced enlightenment. Yuanguan acknowledged his understanding and gave him transmission in the Caodong tradition. The account says nothing about when Jingxuan came to Liangshan Yuanguan or how long he stayed with him, but Huihong states that after Yuanguan passed away, Jingxuan left and eventually went to Mount Dayang (in central Hubei province). Here, he visited the Chan master Jian.[100] Jian was very pleased with Jingxuan and yielded his dharma seat, urging Jingxuan to take over the monastery. Jingxuan accepted the invitation. This event is dated to the year 1000, when Jingxuan was fifty-eight years old—an unusually advanced age for accepting a first abbacy.

After offering some excerpts from Jingxuan's sermons and records of

his encounters with monks, the *Sengbao zhuan* describes the strictness of Jingxuan's monastic life. He never ate more than one meal a day, he never left the boundaries of his monastery, and for fifty years[101] he did not lie down to sleep. At the time he turned eighty, when he had been a monk for sixty-one years, he sighed because there was no one to continue his teachings. He then entrusted his transmission to Fushan Fayuan, instructing him to pass it on to a person who would be a vessel for the dharma. This event would have happened in 1022, since Jingxuan is said to have passed away at the age of eighty-five in 1027. In the seventh month on the sixteenth day of that year, he ascended the teacher's seat and said farewell to the assembly. Three days later, he wrote a poem to be sent to the vice-director Wang Shu (963–1043).[102] When Jingxuan had finished writing the poem, he dropped his brush and passed away.

Huihong's biography of Jingxuan mainly serves to make his readers more familiar with him and to highlight his virtues. It also reinforces the story about Yiqing's transmission and connects Jingxuan to a famous layman, Wang Shu. Interestingly, Huihong, who included various details about the young Jingxuan, seems to have lacked information about his activities after his enlightenment. It is unlikely that Jingxuan did not hold any post between 977, when he seems to have been given Yuanguan's transmission, and 1000, when he became the abbot at Dayang. Since Huihong in all likelihood obtained his information from Baoen's *Caodong zongpai lu* or from the group around Daokai and Baoen, it would seem the members of the new Caodong tradition did not produce many details about the life of Dayang Jingxuan.

Huihong mentions Jingxuan several other times in the *Sengbao zhuan,* usually referring to him as "Ming'an."[103] This name is probably an honorific given to Jingxuan posthumously, and it was already being used in the *Guangdeng lu.*[104] It is curious that Huihong did not use it at all in his biography of Jingxuan. Such an honorific required imperial approval, and its use indicates that Jingxuan must have been remembered as a famous Chan master even before the rise of the new Caodong tradition in the twelfth century.

An edition of Jingxuan's recorded sayings is known to have been printed. In his *Piling ji* (Compilation from Piling), Zhang Shou includes a preface to a *Dayang Ming'an chanshi gulu* (Old record of Chan master Ming'an of Dayang) dated 1133.[105] In it, he mentions Daokai's second-generation disciple Zhenxie Qingliao. It would seem that Qingliao was a moving force behind the publication of this work, which is no longer extant.[106]

By including the new Caodong tradition's focal ancestor, Dayang Jingxuan, together with an elaboration on and endorsement of his transmission to Yiqing, Huihong's *Sengbao zhuan* made a substantial contribution to the legitimation of the emerging Caodong tradition. But the *Sengbao zhuan* goes even further in its support of the new Caodong tradition's self-representation: The work begins with an entry on the Caodong cofounder Caoshan Benji, and in Daokai's lineage, Dongshan Liangjie's disciple Yunju Daoying (d. 902) is included in addition to the entries on Jingxuan, Yiqing,

and Daokai himself.[107] Furthermore, the *Sengbao zhuan* has entries on six other monks in Dongshan Liangjie's lineage.[108] Huihong wrote elsewhere about several of Daokai's disciples, such as Kumu Facheng and Lumen Fadeng, and he also wrote more about Yunju Daoying.

In the note Huihong added to his entry on Jingxuan explaining that Jingxuan had two outstanding disciples who died young, he also presented a new version of the lineage that led from Dayang Jingxuan back to Dongshan Liangjie: "Yan [Jingxuan] had transmission from Liangshan Guan, Guan had transmission from Tongan Zhi, Zhi had transmission from Xian Tongan Pi, and Pi had transmission from Yunju Ying. Ying was a great disciple among the followers of Dongshan."[109] In other words, the lineage that Daokai and Baoen must have claimed for themselves ran as follows: Dongshan Liangjie—Yunju Daoying—Tongan Daopi (d.u.)—Tongan Guanzhi (d.u.)—Liangshan Yuanguan (d.u.)—Dayang Jingxuan—Touzi Yiqing—Furong Daokai and Dahong Baoen.[110] This lineage became accepted in all later Chan histories, but it differs from the version of the Caodong lineage found in the authoritative *Chuandeng lu.* Furthermore, the earliest extant Buddhist history to mention any of the masters in what came to be considered the Caodong lineage, the 952 *Zutang ji,*[111] lists only two disciples under Yunju Daoying, and Tongan Daopi is not among them, nor is he mentioned elsewhere in the work.[112] The *Chuandeng lu* is the first source to mention Daopi, who is listed among nineteen disciples of Daoying.[113] The *Chuandeng lu* is also the earliest source to mention Guanzhi, and he is there listed among the third-generation descendants of Liangjie as Zhong Tongan Zhi.[114] In the *Chuandeng lu,* however, Guanzhi is not recorded as a disciple of Daopi, but is listed as the disciple of Tongan Wei (d.u.),[115] who was a disciple of Jiufeng Puman (834?–896), one of Dongshan Liangjie's students.[116] Tongan Wei is not mentioned in any work prior to the *Chuandeng lu,* and his record there is quite short, including no biographical information. Jiufeng Puman is also mentioned for the first time in the *Chuandeng lu,* and his record is even shorter than that of Tongan Wei. Both monks appear to have been quite obscure figures (also indicated by the fact that Tongan Wei's full ordination name was not remembered). Guanzhi himself is simply listed by name in the *Chuandeng lu,* and there is no record associated with him. Tongan Daopi, who the revived Caodong tradition considered Guanzhi's teacher, has no disciples listed in the *Chuandeng lu.* Liangshan Yuanguan is also mentioned for the first time in the *Chuandeng lu,* where he is listed as a disciple of Guanzhi.[117] And the *Chuandeng lu* is the earliest source to include Dayang Jingxuan, which lists him as the heir of Liangshan Yuanguan.[118] Thus, in the *Chuandeng lu*'s version of the lineage, the transmission line runs as follows: Dongshan Liangjie—Jiufeng Puman—Tongan Wei—Tongan Guanzhi—Liangshan Yuanguan—Dayang Jingxuan. In this version of the lineage, the virtually unknown Jiufeng Puman (rather than Daoying) is the ancestor to the new Caodong tradition—a configuration that did not work well for the Caodong revivers.

We should keep in mind that the transmission histories that scholars

use today as sources for the history of the Chan lineage also served the Song Chan tradition itself as one of the main sources of its understanding of its history. Among these works, the *Chuandeng lu* was the single most authoritative and influential, and anyone interested in Chan would have been familiar with this work and the lineages it depicts. The new Caodong tradition must have felt itself to be in a strong position to be willing to challenge the *Chuandeng lu*'s version of the lineage leading down to Jingxuan. The issue was clearly an important one for Daokai, Baoen, and their followers, who did not seem to think that Jiufeng Puman was a suitable ancestor in their lineage. We cannot know whether the new version of the lineage originated with Baoen and Daokai, but it is not mentioned in any text earlier than the 1124 *Sengbao zhuan,* which no doubt was informed by the new Caodong tradition. Japanese scholars tend to refer to the transmission line given in the *Chuandeng lu* as "mistaken."[119] Ui shows that a question put to Guanzhi in his record in the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* (Essentials of the united [records of the transmission of the] lamps of our school) from 1183 is very similar to a question put to Daopi in the *Wudeng huiyuan* (Assembled essentials of the five [records of the transmission of the] lamp) from 1253, implying that this strengthens the argument for their teacher-disciple relationship.[120] It is not surprising, however, that there should have been some similarities in the two masters' records at this rather late point, when their relationship as master and disciple had become accepted fact. There is no reason to believe that the later, orthodox version of the transmission line, with Guanzhi as the disciple of Daopi, is any more "correct" than the earlier lineage given in the *Chuandeng lu.* In fact, given that Dayang Jingxuan is said to have had close relations with Wang Shu, one of the literati behind the publication of the *Chuandeng lu,* it seems unlikely that Jingxuan's transmission line in this work would have been at odds with Jingxuan's own understanding of it. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see why Baoen, Daokai, and the other members of the new Caodong tradition would have preferred the revised lineage. Jiufeng Puman, who was not mentioned anywhere prior to the *Chuandeng lu,* where he appears as an obscure disciple of Liangjie, was hardly a fitting ancestor for the reemerging Caodong tradition that was struggling to gain a foothold in the early twelfth century. The much more prominent Daoying, who was included together with the Caodong founders in both the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks, Song edition), a nonsectarian Buddhist history published in 988, and in the *Zutang ji,* clearly played the part of the illustrious ancestor much better.[121]

Interestingly, in the *Sengbao zhuan,* a fairly long biography is included for a Jiufeng Tongxuan.[122] Since he is described as a disciple of Liangjie, and since most of Jiufeng Puman's entry from the *Chuandeng lu* is incorporated in his biography, Ui has concluded that he must be the same person as Jiufeng Puman, and it seems clear that that the author of the *Sengbao zhuan,* Huihong, believed this to be the case.[123] Furthermore, the 1183 *Liandeng huiyao* includes a long section on Jiufeng Puman with thirteen questions and

answers. None of this material appears in any earlier source.[124] The appearance of new material on Jiufeng Puman should probably be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the revived Caodong tradition to bring Puman out of obscurity and to establish him as a famous master in the Caodong lineage. Thus, the Caodong revivers implied, even if Puman had been the ancestor to the new Caodong tradition, as the *Chuandeng lu* would have it, the twelfth-century Caodong lineage could still claim illustrious beginnings.

The Caodong Tradition after Daokai and Baoen

The new Caodong tradition quickly became dominated by the lineage of Furong Daokai. As we have seen, Baoen's funerary inscription noted that thirteen of Baoen's disciples had inherited his dharma and were active as abbots at public monasteries. However, the transmission histories have only preserved the names of five of Baoen's disciples, and only one of the five has a record and a known biography. In contrast, of the twenty-nine active heirs reported in Daokai's funerary inscription, twenty-six people are listed in the transmission histories, and fourteen of them have records, several with lengthy sermon selections and biographies. Baoen's lineage continued to dwindle in spite of a few very famous masters belonging to it, and the third generation became the last to have any names recorded anywhere. Daokai's lineage, on the other hand, flourished, and more than forty names are recorded in the transmission histories in the second generation after him. (The number from extant funerary inscriptions is considerably higher.)

Interestingly, several disciples of both Baoen and Daokai who were mentioned in early sources as being especially promising were hardly remembered at all in later Chan history. Thus, Baoen's funerary inscription singles out his disciple Qingdan as representative of his dharma heirs, but Qingdan was completely forgotten in the later tradition.[125] Instead, Jingyan Shousui was remembered in the transmission histories as Baoen's most outstanding disciple and spiritual heir. His epitaph was written by famous scholar Feng Ji, who mentions a number of well known officials and literati who supported Shousui.[126] Shousui had several disciples, but only Dahong Qingxian (probably 1103–1180) has a known biography. Qingxian was also quite prominent, and a surviving inscription associates him with several members of the educated elite.[127] After Qingxian, no other notable masters in Baoen's lineage appeared, and soon after the lineage died out.

While Qingdan probably did not live up to his early promise and Shousui began his career as an abbot several years after the death of Baoen, preventing him from being listed as a dharma heir in Baoen's inscription, there were many reasons why a promising or even illustrious master might be forgotten in later history. For example, the transmission histories only rarely mention monks who were primarily active under the Jin, the non-Chinese state that ruled much of northern China from 1125. This was probably both because information on these monks was not easily accessible to the com-

pilers of Buddhist histories who were living in the South and because Chinese monks active in the Jin territories may have been viewed with suspicion, as were the Chinese secular officials in the North who worked for the Jin administration. One example of such a monk is Tongfa (1082–1140), who was active under the Jin and whose funerary inscription from 1153 notes that he was Baoen's disciple.[128] This inscription is the only extant source that mentions Tongfa, and no transmission history includes him.

Daokai's two disciples who were mentioned in the *Xudeng lu* must have been seen as especially promising at the time, but they too were later condemned to complete obscurity. Daowei (d.u.) is another of Daokai's disciples who at one point was considered especially outstanding. Daokai himself may have considered Daowei his best disciple and most worthy heir, since, according to the *Sengbao zhuan,* Daokai passed Dayang Jingxuan's shoes and robe on to him.[129] The entry in the *Sengbao zhuan* was written after Daowei passed away, so he must have had an illustrious career. Dahui Zonggao also singled out Daowei as an especially prominent disciple of Daokai (see chapter 6). The transmission histories have little to say of Daowei, however, and he is not mentioned in Daokai's inscription from 1127, which suggests that he had already lost most of his importance by then.[130]

Daokai's funerary inscription gives us some interesting clues as to which of Daokai's disciples were considered important at the time of its writing. The inscription was commissioned by Huizhao Qingyu, the second-generation descendant of Daokai who was the heir of Daokai's disciple Danxia Zichun. The text clearly serves as a vehicle for promoting Qingyu, who otherwise was overshadowed by Zichun's two other disciples, Hongzhi Zhengjue and Zhenxie Qingliao. At the time the inscription was written, Qingyu had been the abbot at Dahong for a number of years, and the inscription does much to emphasize Daokai's connection to Dahong, claiming that he was the abbot there for five years, although other sources indicate that Daokai was in fact abbot at Dahong for less than one year. No doubt to further strengthen the claim that Mount Dahong was a center for Daokai's lineage, the inscription also lists five of Daokai's disciples who are said to have studied with him at Dahong. Again, this is a claim that is contradicted in other sources, and we can conclude that the five disciples were likely the most highly regarded of Daokai's disciples when the inscription was written or they would not have been included in this attempt to increase Qingyu's prestige. The disciples listed are Kumu Facheng, Dayong Qilian (1077–1144), Lumen Fadeng, Shimen Yuanyi (1053–1137), and Chanti Weizhao (1084–1128).[131] Together with Danxia Zichun, these are the disciples of Daokai for whom the most information is available, confirming their importance in the new Caodong tradition.[132]

Danxia Zichun was the disciple of Daokai who in later Chan history came to be remembered as the greatest figure among Daokai's immediate descendants. However, Daokai's inscription mentions Zichun only in passing, simply stating that his disciples were especially great.[133] Thus, Zichun's

status in the Chan tradition may have had less to do with his own achievements than with the fact that several of his disciples came to be counted among the most illustrious monks in the Song.

Although no single master in the generation after Daokai and Baoen appears to have been as famous or as eminent as these two predecessors, a number of them clearly were quite illustrious monks with many followers, powerful lay patrons, and even connections to the imperial court. Taken together, the impact of the Caodong masters in the generation after Baoen and Daokai must have been considerable, and it must have been very clear to the Buddhist establishment in the early twelfth century that the Caodong tradition truly had been revived and had become a force to be reckoned with. However, it was in the second generation after Daokai that the most illustrious and influential masters in the new Caodong transmission family appeared, all of them disciples of Danxia Zichun: Hongzhi Zhengjue, Zhenxie Qingliao, and, to a lesser degree, Huizhao Qingyu.

Hongzhi was the most junior of the three, but he became by far the most famous of them and has come to be considered one of the major figures in Song Buddhism. A number of sources dating to the twelfth century and later include information about Hongzhi, but the biography by Wang Boxiang contains the most detail about Hongzhi's life.[134] Wang relates how Hongzhi's father and grandfather had long been followers of the Chan master Huilin Dexun (d. 1107 or 1110),[135] a disciple of Huanglong Huinan.[136] Dexun was impressed with Hongzhi and encouraged his father to let him ordain, which Hongzhi did when he was eleven years old.[137] Later, Hongzhi began traveling, vowing not to return if he did not "discover the great matter," that is, gain enlightenment. Hongzhi first studied with Kumu Facheng, the famous disciple of Furong Daokai. Under Facheng, Hongzhi had an awakening, but Facheng told him that he had to go to see another master before he would come to full understanding. Hongzhi went to see Danxia Zichun, with whom he had the following exchange: "Zichun asked him: 'How about your self before the empty eon?' The master [Hongzhi] answered: 'A toad in a well swallows up the moon; at midnight we don't rely on curtains against the brightness of the night.' [Dan] Xia [Zichun] said: 'You are still not there, say some more.' When the master was about to reply, Xia hit him with his stick and said: 'You still say you do not rely [on things]?' The master suddenly had an awakening and made obeisance. Xia said, 'Why don't you say something?' The master said: 'Today I lost my money and was punished.' Xia said: 'I don't have the time to beat you. Now leave.'"[138] This was Hongzhi's enlightenment. He was twenty-three years of age (1113). Hongzhi then served in several different monastic offices, following Zichun when he took up the abbacy at Mount Dahong. When Zichun died in 1117 (and Baoen's disciple Dahong Shanzhi [d.u.] took over the abbacy), Hongzhi stayed on, and he also served when Zichun's disciple Huizhao Qingyu became abbot at Dahong in 1121. At this point, Hongzhi already had a number of disciples, who must have expected that he would become a prominent Chan

master. Next, Hongzhi took up monastic office under Chanti Weizhao, a prominent disciple of Daokai's, and later under Zhenxie Qingliao. Finally, Hongzhi was in 1124 appointed the abbot of Puzhao monastery in Sizhou. The Wang inscription notes that at this point, Hongzhi declared himself to be the dharma heir of Danxia Zichun.[139] Wang also describes how Xiang Zijin (1086–1153 or 1085–1152)[140] in 1124 had a dream about a monk who seemed to be from Xizhou. Later, when the abbacy at Puzhao monastery became vacant, Xiang invited Hongzhi to become abbot there. After Hongzhi arrived, Xiang learned that Hongzhi was from Xizhou, just like the monk in his dream.[141] Xiang wrote a postscript in 1134 to a collection of Hongzhi's gongan commentaries in which he described the incident.[142] Hongzhi's first collection of recorded sayings and a famous collection of one hundred old gongan with verses by Hongzhi attached also date from this period.[143]

The Wang biography goes on to relate that at the time Hongzhi became the abbot, half of the Puzhao monastery compound was occupied by a Daoist Shenxiao temple—part of the network that had been set up by the emperor Huizong in 1117, which often made use of converted Buddhist monasteries.[144] When Huizong passed by on an inspection tour in the South in early 1126,[145] Hongzhi led the congregation out to greet him. The otherwise anti-Buddhist emperor was very impressed by the appearance of the monks and called Hongzhi to him. As a result of their meeting, the half of the Puzhao monastery that had been occupied by the Shenxiao temple was returned to the Buddhists. In 1127, Hongzhi took up the abbacy at Taiping Xingguo monastery in Shuzhou. In the tenth month of the same year, Hongzhi became abbot at the Yuantong monastery at Mount Lu, where he had served under Weizhao five years earlier. Zhao Lingjin (d. 1158) notes in his inscription that it was his older brother Zhao Lingcheng (d.u.)[146] who brought Hongzhi to Yuantong.[147] The scholar-officials Feng Wenshu (d.u.)[148] and Fan Zongyin (1098–1136),[149] both of whom wrote prefaces to collections of Hongzhi's recorded sayings, first met Hongzhi at Yuantong.[150]

Then Hongzhi briefly held the abbacy at Nengren monastery. At this time, the famous Linji master Yuanwu Keqin, together with Zhao Lingjin, compelled Hongzhi to take up the abbacy at Mount Changlu, where Hongzhi had served under Qingliao.[151] To avoid the repeated incursions into the South by the Jin armies, Hongzhi later left Changlu and in the autumn of 1129 arrived in Mingzhou (at present-day Ningpo in Zhejiang). When he stayed overnight at the Jingde monastery at Mount Tiantong, which at the time was without an abbot, the congregation had the prefect order Hongzhi to stay and take up the abbacy.[152] Hongzhi remained at Tiantong for the rest of his life—almost thirty years—with only one short interlude in 1138 when he was transferred to the Lingying monastery in Lin'an (the Southern Song "temporary" capital at modern Hangzhou) by imperial order. The congregation at Tiantong managed to have him returned after a few months. Hongzhi died at Tiantong when he was sixty-seven years of age. It was highly unusual for a Chan master to serve in one place for such a long time, and

Hongzhi's name became inextricably associated with Tiantong and remains so up to the present day.

Qingliao has not been remembered by tradition as fondly as was Hongzhi, but he was a very illustrious Chan master in his own time. Qingliao was Hongzhi's older dharma brother, and Hongzhi wrote a funerary inscription for him, which is the major extant source for Qingliao's biography.[153] According to this, Qingliao was from Sichuan, and, having ordained at the age of eleven, he became a full-fledged monk in 1105. After studying sūtras, he began to travel around to visit Chan masters. Eventually, he came to Mount Danxia, where Zichun was the abbot. One day when Qingliao entered Zichun's chamber, Zichun asked him: "How about your self before the empty eon?" As Qingliao was about to answer, Zichun slapped him with his hand, triggering Qingliao's enlightenment.[154] Interestingly, this enlightenment episode is very similar to that of Hongzhi, and it suggests the importance to the new Caodong tradition of sayings such as "your self before the empty eon," as well as the emphasis on the ultimate futility of language. The similarity of Hongzhi's and Qingliao's enlightenment episodes also serves to remind us that such stories are better understood as didactic narratives and symbolic representations of core teachings than as actual reports of events.[155]

Later, Qingliao visited a number of the famous Chan masters of the day, including Daokai's disciples Shimen Yuanyi and Kumu Facheng, Linji masters in the Huanglong branch Baoning Yuanji (1036–1118), Fozhao Gao (d.u.), and Yungai Shouzhi (1025–1115), as well as Fojian Huiqin (1059–1117) of the Linji Yangqi branch.[156] Eventually, he joined the congregation at Mount Changlu, where the Yunmen master Zuzhao Daohe was the abbot. When Daohe was about to step down, he had a dream that a person from Sichuan would replace him, and when he woke up he wondered if this meant Foyan Qingyuan or Yuanwu Keqin, two famous monks from Sichuan who had recently been visiting. However, Daohe soon realized that his dream indicated Qingliao, and he decided to pass on his transmission and robe to Qingliao. As we have seen, Qingliao turned down the transmission out of loyalty to Danxia Zichun, but he did take over the abbacy of Changlu after Daohe stepped down in the summer of 1123. At this time, the wandering monks' hall is said to have held seventeen hundred monks.

In 1128, Qingliao stepped down as abbot at Changlu (where he was followed by Hongzhi), and in 1130 he was appointed to the abbacy at Mount Xuefeng in Fuzhou. At this time, he must have befriended Zhang Shou, who wrote a preface to the collection of Dayang Jingxuan's recorded sayings that Qingliao published. Qingliao left Fujian in 1136, when he was appointed to the abbacy at the Guangli monastery at Mount Ayuwang by imperial decree. The monastery had been poorly managed, and almost two hundred thousand peasants had not paid their dues to it. After Qingliao became the abbot, 80 or 90 percent of the owed rent was paid. A few years later, Qingliao was appointed to the abbacy of the newly established Chan mon-

astery Longxiang in Wenzhou, again by imperial decree.[157] In 1145, Qingliao was appointed abbot at Jingshan near the capital, Lin'an, also by imperial order. Then, in 1151, the Chongxian Xianxiao Chan monastery was being constructed in the area by imperial order as a merit monastery (i.e. grave monastery) for Emperor Gaozong's mother, Empress Wei (1080–1159).[158] When it was completed, Qingliao was ordered to take up the post as abbot. Shortly afterward, when Empress Wei visited the monastery, Qingliao gave a sermon in her honor in spite of his being very ill, and he was given many precious gifts. The empress ordered a physician for him and arranged for a lavish ceremony for feeding the hungry ghosts (*xiujian shuilu fahui*)[159] to create merit for the benefit of Qingliao's health. However, shortly afterward, Qingliao passed away while sitting in the lotus position. Hongzhi notes that four hundred people were ordained under Qingliao and that more than thirty disciples inherited his dharma and were active as abbots at public monasteries. Furthermore, two volumes of his recorded sayings were in circulation.[160]

Huizhao Qingyu could claim seniority over both Qingliao and Hongzhi. He was older than both of them and became a Chan master and an abbot earlier than either of them. In Danxia Zichun's funerary inscription from 1127, Qingyu is one of only two heirs named.[161] There is no doubt that he was considered an important and promising disciple of Zichun, and he served at several famous monasteries, as his funerary inscription attests.[162] But Qingyu was not remembered much by the later tradition,[163] and it seems that in his own lifetime he never achieved an illustrious status on par with that of Hongzhi and Qingliao. This appears to have been troubling to Qingyu and others affiliated with him. In sources associated with Qingyu, it is stressed that he was the most senior disciple of Daokai, and it is noted that he, Hongzhi, and Qingliao were known as "the three sage grandsons of Daokai." This expression is only found in sources generated by members of the circle around Qingyu, and it seems to indicate an attempt to have Qingyu considered an equal to the two others. However, Qingyu clearly played an active and important role in consolidating the position of the new Caodong tradition, and, it seems, in the creation of the history of the preceding generations of the Caodong lineage.

The earliest source pertaining to Qingyu is the 1127 Wang Bin inscription for Daokai.[164] This is, as we have seen, an important source for the biography of Daokai. But the inscription clearly also functions as a vehicle for promoting Qingyu, and it is apparent that Qingyu was behind its production. In the introductory part of Daokai's inscription, Wang Bin explains that Daokai was cremated after his death and that his ashes were placed in a pagoda at Lake Furong in Shandong, where Daokai ended his days. However, seven years later, Wang writes, the abbot at Mount Dahong, Huizhao Qingyu, who was a prominent tonsure disciple of Daokai and an heir to his dharma in the second generation, worried about the fact that Daokai's remains were far away and that ceremonies at Daokai's pagoda and monastery

often were lacking. Qingyu, reports Wang, then sighed and thought of how he had served Daokai when he lived at Mount Dayang. Qingyu also recalled how Daokai later had lived at Mount Dahong (where Qingyu now was the abbot) for five years[165] and how monks from all over China had come to see him there. Qingyu is then quoted as listing Daokai's five outstanding disciples, who, he implies, studied with Daokai at Dahong.

Qingyu then sent a disciple to Furong to bring back the ashes of Daokai. He subsequently erected a pagoda for the remains on the southern slope of Mount Dahong. In the winter of the following year, Wang Bin visited Qingyu at the mountain and was persuaded by him to write an inscription for the new pagoda for Daokai's remains. The main body of the inscription, centered on Daokai and his accomplishments, then follows. At the end of the inscription, Wang Bin notes that in the second generation after Daokai, the heirs of Danxia Zichun were especially great. He mentions that Qingyu at Dahong had a congregation of two thousand Chan students, while Qingliao at Changlu and Hongzhi Zhengjue at Puzhao both had one thousand students in their congregations. Wang notes that these were the three great Chan monasteries in the world and that this shows how the Caodong tradition was flourishing. Finally, the inscription is dated to the fifteenth day of the fourth month of 1127, and Qingyu is identified as the person who erected the stele.

Wang Bin's comments about Qingyu are interesting in several ways. They first of all make clear that Daokai is the source from whom authority in the lineage derives, not Danxia Zichun. But the inscription also shows that Qingliao and Hongzhi must have been very illustrious at the time the inscription was written; had they not been, Qingyu would not have found it necessary to include them so prominently. In fact, Qingyu was senior to both of them, and he could claim a special connection to Daokai because he was his tonsure disciple and thus part of Daokai's tonsure family. It must have been this connection that made it possible for Qingyu to have Daokai's remains transferred to Dahong. It can easily be imagined that whoever was in control of Daokai's old monastery (probably a hereditary one) cannot have been pleased by the removal of Daokai's relics. Monasteries could profit considerably from housing the relics of famous monks, which lent prestige to them and attracted supporters and visitors. Qingyu's authority (helped, no doubt, by his political connections) must have been such that the monks at Furong could not refuse his request for Daokai's remains. The inscription also exaggerates the length of time Daokai spent at Dahong, perhaps to justify the transference of his ashes to a pagoda there.

Qingyu is known to have had connections with several literati, perhaps most notably Zhang Shou, who seems to have had a fairly close relationship with him. This is evidenced in a preface Zhang wrote to an edition of Qingyu's recorded sayings dated to 1138.[166] Zhang Shou here describes how, when he became the prefect of Fujian, he had Qingyu take up the post as the abbot at the Ganyuan monastery in Fuzhou. After that, Zhang

says, Qingyu took over the Xuefeng monastery when his younger dharma brother Qingliao moved (in 1136). Zhang then relates how someone showed him Qingyu's recorded words. These made Zhang sigh in admiration. He states that in the past, he had heard about Danxia Zichun but never met him, and now he had gotten to know Zichun's three sons. Zhang goes on to say that Qingyu was Zichun's oldest heir. After him came Qingliao, who was the abbot at Longxiang, and lastly Hongzhi, who was the abbot at Tiantong. Zhang notes that they were three outstanding disciples from one lineage.

Qingyu's own funerary inscription starts out by mentioning the three sage grandsons of Daokai who in recent years had spread the Way in the world. But, its author writes, at the time when the two others were still traveling around seeking out masters, Qingyu had already been the abbot at two great monasteries and the first among Daokai's second-generation descendants to propagate Daokai's way.[167]

Aside from Qingliao, Hongzhi, and Qingyu, the names of an additional thirty-six persons in the second generation of Daokai's lineage have been preserved in the transmission histories. A few more names can be found in inscriptions and other sources. However, very little is known about these second-generation descendants of Daokai. In contrast to the fairly abundant material that is available on several of Daokai's direct descendants, with the exception of Zichun's three famous disciples, only one person in the second generation has a surviving funerary inscription, and he happens to be an otherwise obscure monk not included in any of the transmission histories.[168] Some biographies and a number of records can be found in the transmission histories on certain of the other second-generation descendants of Daokai, but this material is rarely very substantial. It would seem that later compilers of histories and funerary inscriptions did not pay much attention to most of the members in the third generation of the Caodong revival. One might have assumed that the enormous prestige and influence of Zichun's three famous disciples would have boosted other members of Daokai's lineage. This was possibly the case at the time, but in later history writing, the effect seems to have been quite the opposite; the three famous disciples apparently drew attention away from the less illustrious Caodong masters, eventually leading to the loss of their records and inscriptions.

Conclusion

Through the efforts of some able and determined Buddhist masters, the Caodong tradition gained greatly in prominence and influence in the early part of the twelfth century. As part of this process, the tradition reexamined its own past. Adjustments were made in the transmission line, and the virtue and importance of the last two past masters, Touzi Yiqing and Dayang Jingxuan, were promoted through new biographies and, eventually, through collections of their recorded sayings. In this way, the new Caodong tradition shaped and redefined its lineage, enhanced its prestige, and strengthened its claim to legitimacy.

Although it is not clear when exactly the concept of a Caodong lineage as such appeared, the organization of the *Zutang ji* indicates that by the early tenth century the descendants of Dongshan Liangjie were understood to have some sort of a common identity.[169] It is also obvious from the *Zutang ji,* the *Song gaoseng zhuan,* and the transmission histories, however, that there was no clear understanding of who exactly belonged in the lineage or who were to be considered important members of it before it was codified by Daokai, Baoen, and their followers.

Dayang Jingxuan held a special place in the new Caodong lineage because he was the link to the lineage recorded in the *Chuandeng lu* and was therefore crucial for the twelfth-century Caodong tradition's claim to legitimacy. It is likely that Jingxuan was quite a famous master in his own time, although his biography as we know it today is the product of the new Caodong tradition.

The place of Yiqing in the lineage remains somewhat puzzling. The story of his transmission is unconvincing, and his biography has many more hagiographical elements to it than that of Jingxuan. Yet precisely because his peculiar transmission would seem less than ideal, it appears unlikely that the story was entirely the creation of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition, which could certainly have produced a better one. Perhaps the story offered itself as the only way to create a link to Dayang Jingxuan, given the impossibility of Yiqing's ever having met him (although one of the known disciples of Jingxuan could have served as the link between Jingxuan and Yiqing).

The revival of the Caodong tradition had an enormous impact on the development of the Chan school in China. Although Baoen, Daokai, and their disciples played a crucial role in this revival, it was Hongzhi and Qingliao who in the second generation came to epitomize the new Caodong tradition. As I shall show in the following chapters, it was also during the time of Hongzhi and Qingliao that conflict between the revived Caodong tradition and the until-then dominant Linji tradition broke out into the open.

CHAPTER 5

A Dog Has No Buddha-Nature

Kanhua Chan and Dahui Zonggao's Attacks on Silent Illumination

The Caodong tradition underwent, as we have seen, a remarkable revival and reinvention beginning in the late eleventh century that propelled it onto the national stage and made it one of the leading groups of elite Buddhism. The dharma brothers Furong Daokai and Dahong Baoen were the coarchitects of this new Caodong tradition, although Daokai quickly came to be seen as the paragon of the Caodong revival, partly due to the achievements of his many disciples. The great success of the emerging Caodong tradition was widely noted in Daokai and Baoen's own time, as witnessed by various comments in extant Song literature. But to the contemporaries of Hongzhi and Qingliao a few decades later, the Caodong revival was even more apparent. By that time, the Caodong tradition was no longer limited to a few extraordinary individuals; rather, between them, the two generations after Daokai and Baoen had produced at least a hundred active Chan masters. Many of these were high-profile Buddhist monks (and even some nuns) who forged close ties with powerful officials and literati, as well as with the imperial court, and who gained considerable prestige and influence. This quite sudden rise of the new Caodong tradition can be associated, I will argue, with a series of events that had a momentous impact on Chan society and profoundly affected doctrinal and sectarian developments within Chan Buddhism.

The dominance of the Yunmen and Linji traditions in Chan Buddhism began to be challenged with the emergence of the new Caodong tradition. Thus, the scholar and official Ye Mengde noted in 1135 that before Daokai, people who were interested in Chan paid attention only to the Yunmen and Linji traditions, but after Daokai became known, everyone began to think of Yunmen and Linji as inadequate and abandoned them to follow Daokai instead. As a result, Ye explained, in his day, at least three out of ten Chan enthusiasts followed Caodong.[1] It should not surprise us if the sudden success of the Caodong tradition appeared somewhat disruptive and threatening to the Chan transmission families that had been dominant. As we have seen, the support of officials and literati was necessary for Chan masters and their lineages to survive and prosper, especially in the Southern Song after state support for elite Buddhism and Chan started to wane and the literati

became more involved in local government. Ye Mengde was clearly referring to members of the literati, and if considerable resources were being channeled away from Linji and Yunmen masters and shifted over to Caodong masters, as Ye suggests, some reaction was perhaps inevitable. The reaction that materialized seems to have begun during the time of Daokai and Baoen in rather a muted fashion and reached a crescendo with the well-known Linji master Dahui Zonggao.

In this chapter, I will discuss Dahui's famous attacks on silent illumination and his equally famous creation of kanhua Chan, which Dahui saw as an answer to, and cure for, silent illumination.[2] Dahui used strong and forceful language both in his advocacy of kanhua Chan and in his attacks on those who taught silent illumination. Since Dahui never named those he had in mind outright when he criticized silent illumination, there has been no scholarly consensus regarding who exactly Dahui was attacking. In the next chapter, I shall therefore discuss in detail evidence showing that the new Caodong tradition was indeed the direct target of silent illumination attacks by Dahui and other Linji masters. In chapter 7, I shall then explore the teachings of the new Caodong tradition and argue that it did in fact teach an approach to enlightenment and practice that reasonably can be called "silent illumination" and that is recognizable in the attacks of Dahui and others. Because it clarifies a number of issues to place silent illumination within the context of Dahui's criticism, however, I will first present a discussion of Dahui's invention of kanhua Chan and his attacks on silent illumination.[3]

The Career of Dahui Zonggao

Dahui Zonggao is easily the most famous Chan master of the Song dynasty, and indeed one of the most famous Chan masters of all time. Although Dahui held the position of abbot at a public monastery for a relatively short period, he was an active preacher and writer throughout his life, and his extant recorded sayings, sermons, and letters are extensive.[4] Dahui's life is very well documented; he is mentioned in the writings of many of his contemporaries, and biographical notes on him are included in a number of transmission histories. Most importantly, a detailed year-by-year biography of him exists, the *Dahui Pujue chanshi nianpu* (Chronological biography of Chan master Dahui Pujue; hereafter *Dahui nianpu*).[5]

According to this biography, Dahui became a novice in 1104, when he was sixteen years old, and a full-fledged monk the following year. He then visited several Chan masters, including some in the new Caodong lineage, and studied for a number of years with the famous Linji master in the Huanglong branch Zhantang Wenzhun (1061–1115) until Wenzhun passed away.[6] Dahui then traveled to various places and befriended several famous literati, most notably Zhang Shangying and Han Ju (d. 1135).[7] He also edited a collection of Zhantang Wenzhun's recorded sayings, for which Juefan Hui-

hong, whom Dahui had also befriended, wrote a postscript.[8] Dahui further successfully solicited an epitaph for Wenzhun from Zhang Shangying.[9] Around this time, Zhang gave Dahui the sobriquet "Miaoxi," which became the name Dahui most commonly used for himself. Later, in 1119, Dahui lived for most of the year in Zhang's residence.[10] Zhang encouraged Dahui to go and study with Yuanwu Keqin, whom Wenzhun had also recommended to Dahui before he passed away.[11] Eventually, in 1125, Dahui went to study with Keqin, and within a year he experienced a great enlightenment, which Keqin sanctioned.[12] In 1126, Dahui was bestowed a purple robe and the honorific "Fori" by the imperial court, a highly unusual honor for someone who had not even held a position as an abbot.[13] Dahui stayed with Keqin for several years and followed him to the South, fleeing from the advancing Jin forces.[14] From 1129 to 1133, Dahui lived in retirement in Jiangxi and Hunan, teaching only a small number of students. In 1133, Dahui came out of his seclusion and stayed at the residence of Han Ju for some time.[15] He then traveled to Fuzhou in Fujian province and later to Quanzhou. The *Dahui nianpu* notes that it was during this period that Dahui first started to attack silent illumination Chan.[16] In 1137, Dahui was appointed to the abbacy at Jingshan, located west of Lin'an, the Southern Song de facto capital; Jingshan was one of the most prestigious monasteries in the empire.[17] This was an imperial appointment extended to Dahui through the recommendation of the statesman Zhang Jun (1097–1164).[18] That Dahui's first abbacy should have been such a prominent one is yet another indication of the great renown he had acquired at this early stage of his career. Dahui was the abbot at Jingshan until 1141, when he suddenly fell from imperial grace and was defrocked and exiled. Dahui's misfortune is usually thought to have been the result of his association with Zhang Jiucheng (1092–1159), who was among the group of literati that advocated war against the Jin, and who ran afoul of the peacemaker Qin Gui (d. 1155), the all-powerful grand councilor since 1138. Dahui may also have made some remarks that were interpreted as a criticism of the peace policy.[19] It is quite possible, furthermore, that Dahui's high-profile attacks on other traditions of Chan contributed to his downfall.

Dahui was in exile until the end of 1155,[20] and during this period he continued teaching and also wrote many letters to various lay followers, attesting to his close relations with both famous and not-so-famous literati.[21] In 1156, Dahui was appointed to the abbacy at Mount Ayuwang in Zhejiang.[22] A few years later, Dahui was returned to his old seat at Jingshan, and in 1159 the future emperor Xiaozong sent one of his attendants to Jingshan to ask Dahui about the Way.[23] Dahui retired from Jingshan in 1161, and in 1162 he was invited to the court by Xiaozong, who had just ascended the throne. However, Dahui pleaded illness and did not come. It was on this occasion that the emperor granted him the honorific name "Dahui."[24] Later, Dahui returned to Jingshan, and in the eighth month of 1163, he passed away.[25] Just before he died, Dahui wrote a letter of parting to Xiaozong, who is said

to have grieved deeply. Xiaozong conferred the posthumous name "Pujue" on Dahui and ordered Dahui's recorded sayings to be included in the Buddhist canon.[26]

Dahui's career was highly unusual. He was recognized as an eminent monk even before he had a sanctioned enlightenment experience and received an inheritance certificate, years before he took up his first abbacy. He was unusually outspoken, and it is perhaps not surprising that he eventually got into political trouble. Dahui is also known for his many literati connections; although many other Song Chan masters probably had similar close relations to laypeople, they are not as well documented, and Dahui's circle of literati friends and followers seems to have been wider than that of any other master. However, Dahui is especially known for his advocacy of kanhua Chan.

Dahui and Kanhua Chan

Dahui's name is inextricably connected to what has come to be known as kanhua Chan, literally "Chan of observing the key phrase," although Dahui himself did not give it a name.[27] This approach to Chan practice involves focusing intensely on the crucial phrase, or "punch line" (the *huatou*), of a gongan.[28] Kanhua practice has therefore often been referred to as "gongan (or kōan) introspection" by Western writers.[29] As discussed in chapter 1, gongan are highly enigmatic and frequently startling or even shocking stories about legendary Chan masters' interactions with disciples and other interlocutors, usually taken from the records of "encounter dialogue" found in the transmission histories. Encounter dialogue, with its disruptive language and seeming non sequiturs, has come to be considered the hallmark of Chan literature (although, in fact, Chan literature includes a wide range of different genres and styles of writing).[30]

Dahui taught that focusing single-mindedly on a huatou in meditation and in the performance of daily tasks would eventually lead to the breakthrough of enlightenment.[31] He strongly insisted on the need for a moment of enlightenment, without which a person would forever remain in the shadows of delusion, and he cited as his main reason for attacking silent illumination that it did not (and was not meant to) lead to enlightenment. Enlightenment was the sine qua non for Dahui, and his advocacy of kanhua Chan clearly grew out of this concern. The gongan story that Dahui most often told his students to use for kanhua practice was the very simple one of the response Zhaozhou Congshen (778–897) is said to have given to someone who asked him whether a dog had the Buddha-nature. In a written sermon (*fayu*) addressed to a scholar-official, Dahui told the story: "A monk asked Zhaozhou: 'Does even a dog have Buddha-nature?' Zhaozhou answered: 'No!' [*wu;* lit. 'It doesn't have it']."[32] Dahui then instructed: "Whether you are walking or standing, sitting or lying down, you must not for a moment cease [to hold this 'no' (*wu*) in your mind]. When

deluded thoughts arise, you must also not suppress them with your mind. Only just hold up this huatou ['no' (*wu*)]. When you want to meditate and you feel dull and muddled, you must muster all your energies and hold up this word. Then suddenly you will be like the old blind woman who blows [so diligently] at the fire that her eyebrows and lashes are burned right off."[33] The teaching that all sentient beings are endowed with the Buddha-nature is, as discussed earlier, a standard Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine and a basic assumption in all of Song Chan, so Zhaozhou's rejection of the existence of canine Buddha-nature has a distinctly startling quality to it. But, as is clear from Dahui's discussion, the point of the story was not to try understand it in any intellectual way, and the focus was not the story itself but the huatou, consisting of the single word "no," or rather the sound *wu,* which was understood as ultimately devoid of linguistic content.[34]

In another sermon directed to a lay follower, Dahui explained kanhua practice at somewhat greater length:

> A monk asked Zhaozhou: "Does even a dog have the Buddha-nature?" Zhaozhou answered: "No"! When you observe it, do not ponder it widely, do not try to understand every word, do not try to analyze it, do not consider it to be at the place where you open your month [about to say it out loud], do not reason that it is at the place [in your mind] where you hold it up, do not fall into a vacuous state, do not hold on to "mind" and await enlightenment, do not try to experience it through the words of your teacher, and do not get stuck in a shell of unconcern.[35] Just at all times, whether walking or standing, sitting or lying, hold on to this ["no" (*wu*)]. "Does a dog actually have the Buddha-nature or not [*wu*]?" If you hold on to this "no" [*wu*] to a point where it becomes ripe, when no discussion or consideration can reach it and it is as if you are caught in a space of one square inch; and when it has no flavor, as if you were chewing on a raw iron cudgel, and you get so close to it you cannot pull back—when you are able to be like this, then that really is good news![36]

Dahui maintained that he did not allow for a gradual approach to enlightenment: either one has it or one does not have it. In this way, attaining enlightenment is like trying to hit a target with an arrow: one might try many times, but one either hits or misses.[37] On the other hand, a passage like the one above seems to indicate that Dahui viewed kanhua practice as a way of getting to the point of being able to hit the target, and this process could perhaps be considered to be a gradual one.

Although Zhaozhou's *wu* was the gongan Dahui used by far the most often, he also advocated the use of other gongan for kanhua practice. In a letter to an official, for example, Dahui wrote: "A monk asked Yunmen: 'What is the Buddha?' Yunmen answered: 'A piece of dried shit.' Just raise this word [in your mind], and when suddenly all your cleverness is exhausted, then that will be enlightenment."[38]

It seems that kanhua practice was supposed to bring the practitioner to

a point where no thinking or conceptualizing of any kind is possible. But, to Dahui, a parallel function of concentrating on the huatou was that it focused a person's doubts.[39] Doubts are detrimental to enlightenment, but the unenlightened mind will always have doubts. When one is immersed in kanhua practice, however, all doubts about other things should be forgotten in favor of (or concentrated in) the immense doubt generated by the huatou. According to Dahui, once doubt is centered on the huatou, it will become like a huge, growing ball. Eventually, this ball of doubt will shatter, and all other doubts will disappear with it. This is the moment of enlightenment. Thus, Dahui wrote, "Great doubt will necessarily be followed by great enlightenment."[40]

In a letter to a lay follower, Dahui explained his views on doubt and kanhua practice in more detail: "All the myriad doubts are just one doubt. If you can shatter the doubt you have on the huatou, then all the myriad doubts will at once be shattered [too]. If you cannot shatter the huatou, then you must still face it as if you were opposite a cliff.[41] If you discard the huatou and then go and let doubts arise about other writings, or about the teachings in the sūtras, or about gongan by the old masters, or about your day-to-day worldly worries, then you will be in the company of demons."[42] Here, Dahui makes it very clear that doubt is both powerful and dangerous. If doubt can be harnessed and focused on the huatou, it will lead to enlightenment; if not, it will be a destructive force that binds a person to delusion.

It is important to be aware of the distinction between kanhua Chan and the practice of using gongan as a means of instruction, which is often missed in the secondary literature. Dahui was far from being the first Song Chan master to use gongan stories in teaching his students. Much of the material in the recorded sayings collections of individual Song Chan masters consists of the master quoting ("raising"; *ju*) a story about a famous past Chan figure's encounter with disciples or other interlocutors and then offering his own comments on it. The stories held up for comment came to be referred to as gongan, "public cases," or *guze,* "old model cases," both terms borrowed, it would seem, from the language of law.[43] At least initially, a story about a famous Chan master came to be considered a gongan only when it was commented upon by another Chan master. Gongan were also used to challenge Chan students to demonstrate their insights: a Chan master would cite a story about a famous master and then demand that his students comment. Later, certain questions that were not associated with any particular Chan master but were used to challenge students to awaken to their enlightened minds were also called gongan, such as the famous "Why did Bodhidharma come from the West?" or "What was your face before your parents were born?" and their equivalents, which were much used in the new Caodong tradition.

Chinese Chan masters of the eighth to mid-tenth centuries, later seen as the golden age of Chan, were most often the protagonists of gongan stories;

Song Chan masters only rarely treated the words of their own contemporaries as gongan. Most commonly used gongan in the Song originally came from the influential *Chuandeng lu,* although the subsequent transmission histories also became sources of gongan. The practice of commenting on the words and actions of venerable Chan masters of the past clearly functioned to reify the central claim of the Song Chan school that as a member of the greater Chan transmission family, a Chan master was the direct heir to its past masters and even to the Buddha himself, and that he was therefore fully qualified and authorized to comment upon and judge past masters' sayings and doings.[44]

A whole independent genre of Chan literature evolved out of the practice of commenting on the gongan stories of past masters. Many Song Chan masters (or their students) compiled collections of old gongan cases, attaching the master's own brief comments to each. These collections were called *niangu* (picking up the old [cases or masters]) when a prose commentary was attached and *songgu* (eulogizing the old [cases or masters]) when the commentary was in poetic form. Such collections were themselves sometimes further subject to another master's commentaries, resulting in rather complex and somewhat confusing pieces of literature. Hongzhi's verses on one hundred gongan cases (a *songgu* commentary), for example, were further commented on by Wansong Xingxiu (1166–1246) and published as the *Congrong lu* (Record of equanimity).[45] The treatment of each case in this work begins with an introduction by Wansong followed by the gongan case in question, with brief and often cryptic interlinear commentary by Wansong. Then comes a longer prose commentary on the case by Wansong, followed by Hongzhi's verse on the case, again with brief interlinear commentary by Wansong. Finally comes a prose commentary by Wansong on Hongzhi's verse and on the case in general. The earliest and probably most famous example of this kind of literature is the *Biyan lu* (Blue cliff record), which was Dahui's master Yuanwu Keqin's commentary on a one-hundred-verse collection by the Yunmen master Xuedou Chongxian (980–1052). Dahui is said to have later destroyed the woodblocks for this work because he found that students were relying on it too heavily.[46] Early in his career, however, Dahui himself was the coauthor of a *songgu* collection.[47]

It is not clear exactly when the practice of commenting on old gongan cases started, but the earliest Chan masters to have such commentaries included in the recorded sayings attributed to them appear to be Yunmen Wenyan[48] and Fenyang Shanzhao (947–1024).[49] It is clear that from the beginning of the Song, Chan masters used gongan in their sermons, composed anthologies of gongan commentary, and used gongan to challenge students to see their own pure Buddha-minds. There are many instances in Chan literature of a student experiencing enlightenment when a master asks him about his understanding of a particular gongan. It must be emphasized that this use of gongan was in no way the special domain of the Linji tradition: gongan instruction was the property of all of the Chan school.[50]

In traditional Chan scholarship, the development of kanhua Chan is generally seen as a reaction to the formalization of Chan in the Song, which had sapped it of its original vitality.[51] This view presupposes that the Song depiction of a "golden age" of Chan in the Tang can be taken at face value, but more recent research has called this conception into question in various ways. Robert Buswell has argued in an influential essay that gongan and huatou "more fruitfully can be viewed as the products of an internal dynamic within Chan that began in the T'ang and climaxed in the Sung." He continues: "*K'an-hua* [kanhua] Ch'an may thus be seen as the culmination of a long process of evolution in Ch'an whereby its subitist rhetoric came to be extended to pedagogy and finally to practice."[52] This view has much merit to it, even in ways that are not detailed by Buswell. There is no doubt that Dahui built on previous developments in gongan practice in his creation of kanhua Chan, although kanhua Chan cannot be understood solely as the product of an internal process.

There is evidence that after several generations of Chan masters had been using gongan stories as teaching devices in sermons and encounters with disciples, some Chan masters began to assign specific gongan to their disciples to contemplate, which at a later point could result in an enlightenment experience for the student. This practice seems to have become fairly common in the eleventh century. In the *Xudeng lu,* for example, the ancestor of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition, Touzi Yiqing, is said to have experienced enlightenment when he was thinking about a gongan that Fayuan had earlier questioned him about.[53] Dahong Qingxian, the second-generation descendant of Dahong Baoen, is said in his funerary inscription to have studied under the otherwise unknown master Weiyi (d.u.), who had him investigate the saying about "great death but still living."[54] Unfortunately, this did not lead to an enlightenment for Qingxian, but the hope was clearly that it would. Dahui's teacher Yuanwu Keqin also indicated that the practice of contemplating gongan dated to well before his own time when he stated: "For the neophytes or the senior students who wanted to practice [Chan] but who had no way to get the point, the former virtuous masters showed their kindness by asking them to investigate [*kan*] the ancients' gongan."[55] The practice was common enough to attract criticism, and in the entry on Daokai's disciple Chanti Weizhao in the *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan* (True continuation of the chronicles of the saṃgha treasure), Weizhao rails against deluded masters who teach people to contemplate (*can*) gongan stories like the ones about the "cypress in front of the hall," the "cut cat," the "wash your bowls," the "wild fox," and the "investigating the old woman."[56]

The earliest evidence I have found of something akin to this kind of practice is in the entry on Dongshan Liangjie in the *Chuandeng lu.* It contains a story about how Liangjie used to say that just stating that "fundamentally nothing exists"[57] did not earn the sixth patriarch Huineng the robe and bowl. Liangjie then urged his disciples to come up with a phrase that

would have earned him these insignia. An old monk tried ninety-six times and finally had his answer approved by Liangjie. Another monk wanted to learn the older monk's answer and, after trying to find out in vain for three years, finally threatened him with a knife to make him tell.[58] This example is interesting because it appears so early in the Song, but also because it links the practice of investigating gongan to the founder of the Caodong tradition, which directly contradicts the common notion of gongan contemplation being the special domain of the Linji tradition.

In any case, it is certain that well before Dahui's time, students of Chan were instructed by their masters to contemplate or mull over particular gongan stories or gongan-like phrases over a long period and that this practice was thought often to lead to an enlightenment experience. The development of this use of gongan clearly foreshadows Dahui's kanhua Chan, and without it, Dahui's innovations would hardly have been possible. The earlier form of gongan contemplation differs from kanhua Chan in a number of important ways, however. The earlier practice was never advocated as the exclusive or even main practice leading toward enlightenment, and there was no notion of a ball of doubt that builds up before finally shattering. (In fact, doubt was seen as an impediment.) Most important, there is no record from the Song of any earlier Chan master's having told his audience to focus on a single word or phrase of a gongan story, as Dahui did when he insisted on the intense reflection on the huatou, or punch line, in kanhua practice.

Several writers have argued that Dahui's kanhua Chan was strongly influenced by his teacher Yuanwu Keqin, who is depicted as leading a revolution in gongan practice that eventually flowered in Dahui's kanhua Chan.[59] Keqin strongly emphasized that one should investigate the word and not the meaning of a gongan—that is, that one should understand the gongan directly without intellectual mediation. In several sources, Keqin relates how he gained realization by contemplating gongan stories. In one sermon, he told his audience: "When I first came to Dagui to study with master Zhenru,[60] I sat silently all day facing a wall and investigated [*kan*] gongan stories of the old masters back and forth. After about a year, I suddenly gained some insight."[61] In this passage, it seems clear that Keqin describes contemplating gongan while sitting in meditation. But it is also clear that this practice did not involve focusing on the punch line of a gongan, and indeed Keqin seems to be describing mulling over several different gongan, a practice that Dahui later criticized.

I know of no other indication that the teacher mentioned in this passage, Zhenru Muzhe (d. 1095), commonly instructed his students in the use of gongan in meditation, but the passage certainly suggests that Keqin might have done so. In his *Foguo Keqin chanshi xinyao* (Chan master Foguo Keqin's essentials of mind; hereafter *Foguo Keqin xinyao*), Keqin talks about his time with Wuzu Fayan (1024?–1104), whose dharma heir he eventually became. Keqin reports that Wuzu Fayan told him the saying, "The verbal and the non-verbal are like vines clinging to a tree."[62] Keqin then describes

his intense mulling over this saying, trying to understand it in various ways. Frequently entering Wuzu's chamber (*rushi*), he would freely babble out his understanding, only to be rebuked by Wuzu. Keqin finally left but returned two years later.[63] He describes the enlightenment that followed: "[For me,] the bucket first was released with the phrase: 'She keeps calling out to [her maid] Xiaoyu although there is nothing the matter. [It is only because she wants Tanlang [her lover] to hear her voice].'[64] I then finally saw that what I had formerly been shown [by my teachers] was the true medicine."[65] From the context, one gets the impression that Keqin was meditating on the phrase about Xiaoyu or contemplating it intensely. In his recorded sayings, however, Keqin gives a rather different account of his enlightenment experience. Here, he tells of how he was present when Wuzu quoted the poem to a visiting official. The official did not understand, but, overhearing it, Keqin had a great enlightenment.[66] In this narrative, no prolonged contemplation of the saying is implied; rather, a more traditional Chan response to the words of a master is described.[67]

Keqin's memory of his own enlightenment experience, as related in the *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* fits well with his apparent emphasis on gongan study. In teaching his own students, Keqin often stressed the importance of understanding gongan stories in an intuitive or nonintellectual fashion as a way to enlightenment. He also seems to have advocated that students dwell on gongan in meditation. Thus, after quoting a well-known gongan story, Keqin writes: "After having become quiet and silent, calm and discerning, you then hold it up and investigate it [*kan*]. After a long time, you will know the fundamental point of your being [*luochu*]."[68] In instructing his students, Keqin strongly emphasized that gongan should be understood as "live words" and not "dead words"—that is, one should comprehend a gongan directly, without intellectual mediation.[69] Just as Weizhao, Keqin's contemporary in the Caodong tradition, had criticized those who immersed themselves in intellectual gongan study, Keqin was concerned that Chan students were not approaching gongan study correctly. But unlike Weizhao, who seems to have wanted to relegate gongan to a secondary importance and perhaps do away with them altogether, Keqin clearly felt that gongan practice was of essential importance. In instructions to his students, Keqin strongly stressed the necessity of understanding gongan stories in an intuitive fashion in order to gain enlightenment. Thus, in one sermon, he said: "I have seen many students who just seek to figure out the meaning and comment on it, trying hard to reach complete understanding. How is it possible in this way to penetrate birth and death? . . . If you want to penetrate birth and death, it is necessary to open up your mind. The gongan is exactly the key to opening up your mind. You just have to understand the essential meaning beyond the words, and only then will you arrive at the place where there are no doubts."[70]

Furthermore, Keqin may have also been the first Chan master to specifically state that once one gongan is truly understood, all gongan are simul-

taneously understood. Thus, Keqin said, "If you diligently raise one case, [you can get to a point where] you clearly understand all the sayings and teachings of the past and present in one instant."[71] And elsewhere he stated, "If one generates understanding and accesses awakening through a single phrase, a single encounter, or a single object, the immeasurable, innumerable functions and gongan are simultaneously penetrated."[72]

The idea that truly understanding a gongan story would be a moment of enlightenment was well established at the time of Keqin, and therefore Keqin's view should not be understood to represent a real departure from the previous understanding of gongan. Keqin did not take the idea that understanding one gongan entails the understanding of all gongan to its logical extreme, as did Dahui, who advocated that it was enough—even preferable—to concentrate on the huatou of a single gongan. Although Keqin may have put stronger emphasis on understanding gongan in an intuitive fashion than did most of his contemporaries, he can hardly be said to have revolutionized gongan practice. It is even doubtful that Keqin's stress on understanding gongan was the most important influence on Dahui's development of kanhua Chan. Keqin's emphasis on investigating the gongan as a "live word" was quite different from Dahui's insistence on the intense reflection on the huatou. As we shall see, moreover, Dahui did not begin advocating kanhua meditation until almost ten years after his enlightenment experience under Keqin, and I suggest that he was chiefly motivated by forces quite different from the influence of his old master's teachings.

It is sometimes argued that Dahui, in telling his students to focus on Zhaozhou's *wu,* was following an old tradition of Chan. As proof, the legendary Tang Chan master Huangbo Xiyun (d. between 847 and 859) is sometimes cited. We do find a passage tagged onto the very end of the Ming-dynasty edition of the *Wanling lu* (Record of Wanling) in which Huangbo advocates contemplating Zhaozhou's "no" (*wu*) twenty-four hours a day, "whether sitting, lying, eating, or defecating." "After a long time like this," he says, "one will inevitably have a breakthrough."[73] This passage is clearly a quite late addition, however, since the Song editions of the *Wanling lu* do not include it.[74]

More difficult to refute are the indications that Wuzu Fayan, the master of Yuanwu Keqin, advocated the contemplation of Zhaozhou's *wu.* Dahui himself may have claimed that he was following Wuzu Fayan in advocating this practice. In the very last of his collected letters, perhaps written around 1154,[75] Dahui cites a letter that Wuzu Fayan is said to have written to a monk. According to Dahui, Wuzu wrote: "This summer the villages have nothing to harvest, but that doesn't worry me. What worries me is that in my hall of several hundred monks not one of them over the course of the summer [meditation period] penetrated and understood the story about a dog not having the Buddha-nature. I fear the Buddhist teachings are about to be obliterated."[76]

In Wuzu Fayan's extant recorded sayings, there is indeed a passage in

which Wuzu expresses a similar sentiment. In a sermon, after quoting the story about a dog not having the Buddha-nature, Wuzu said: "All of you in the assembly, how do you understand this? This old monk always simply just holds up the word 'no' [*wu*]. If you can penetrate and understand this one word, then no one in the whole world will have anything on you. How will you all penetrate this? Has any one of you penetrated and clearly understood? If so, come forth and speak out for all to see. I don't want you to say that [the dog] has [the Buddha-nature], I don't want you to say it doesn't have it, and I don't want you to say that it neither has it nor doesn't have it. What will you say?"[77] This is the only passage I have located in all of Chan literature in which a Chan master prior to Dahui advocated focusing on just the "no" (*wu*) of the gongan about Zhaozhou's dog, and nowhere else does Wuzu (or anyone else) recommend focusing on just one part of any other gongan story. Wuzu's remark here could simply be understood as a way of urging his audience to grasp the essential meaning of the story, however, not as advocating contemplation of the word *wu* itself.

Wuzu refers to Zhaozhou's gongan about the dog once more in his sermons, but here he simply adds a brief comment.[78] In the section of poetry in Wuzu's recorded sayings, however, a poem about Zhaozhou is introduced with the remark that Wuzu, during encounters with students in his chambers, would often raise Zhaozhou's gongan about a dog not having the Buddha-nature. Because students asked about it, Wuzu wrote the poem.[79] It is quite possible that Wuzu had a reputation for being especially fond of the dog gongan, though this is not reflected widely in his recorded sayings, and it is also possible that Wuzu's use of this gongan inspired Dahui.

By citing the letter attributed to Wuzu, Dahui appeared to indicate that meditation on the huatou *wu* was common at the time of Wuzu, but there is absolutely no evidence for this in the recorded sayings and writings of Wuzu or his contemporaries. Considering the traditional Chinese praxis of attributing any system of thought or practice, however new, to a venerated and authoritative figure of the past, it is not surprising to find Dahui implying that kanhua practice was advocated by Wuzu Fayan. This assertion does not appear to have been well grounded in fact, however, and one is tempted to suggest that the passage in Wuzu's recorded sayings urging his students to penetrate Zhaozhou's *wu* is a later interpolation designed to accommodate Dahui's claims. In any event, it seems clear that Wuzu did not generally instruct his students in a huatou-like contemplation of Zhaozhou's *wu* and that no such practice was in common use during his lifetime. Dahui's use of gongan went far beyond anything that is attested in Chan literature before him. He was the first to insist on the absolute necessity of an intense introspection directed toward the crucial punch line part of the gongan, the huatou, and this makes him unique among Song Chan masters. Dahui's advocacy of kanhua Chan was really without precedent.

Kanhua Chan was a meditative technique, but one which, according to Dahui, could be practiced in the midst of daily life: he often told his fol-

lowers that reflection on the huatou was to be maintained at all times. Dahui clearly considered kanhua Chan to be more powerful when practiced in sitting meditation, however, and this is also how it was understood by the later tradition. Therefore, kanhua Chan can be characterized as a whole new meditation technique. Furthermore, Dahui insisted that kanhua practice was in actuality the only way to enlightenment for Chan practitioners of his day, to the virtual exclusion of other Buddhist meditation practices. In this insistence, he was unusual among the Song Chan masters, who generally tended to take a rather inclusive view of Buddhist practice. It is therefore fair to say that Dahui not only developed a new contemplative technique, he also invented a whole new kind of Chan in the process.[80]

Dahui's Attacks on Silent Illumination

Dahui was famous not only for advocating kanhua Chan but also for being a tireless critic of what he considered to be heterodox forms of Chan and misguided practices. Although he identified several mistaken kinds of Chan that he criticized for distorting the Buddhist teachings, Dahui attacked silent illumination far more often than any other wrong view, and when he discussed wrong views in general, he singled out what he called "the heretical silent illumination Chan" (*mozhao xie chan*) as the most harmful of them all. In a letter to a literati supporter datable to 1149, Dahui wrote, after listing various kinds of wrong views, "The very worst [of all heretical views] is that of silent illumination, with which people become entrenched in the ghostly cave, not uttering a word and being totally empty and still, seeking the ultimate peace and happiness."[81] As this passage makes clear, Dahui identified silent illumination with a quietistic practice devoid of wisdom, and he attacked it again and again. In another letter, Dahui depicted the kind of meditation that teachers of silent illumination advocate: "Some take Chan to mean being without a word or an utterance, sitting in the ghostly cave under the black mountain with knitted brows and closed eyes, and this they call the state of 'beyond the primordial Buddha' [Weiyin *nabian*],[82] or 'the time before one's parents were born.' They also call it 'being silent and constantly illuminating.'"[83] In yet another letter to a scholar-official, Dahui wrote: "In recent years, there has been a kind of heretical teacher who preaches silent illumination Chan. They teach people to do this all day without regard to anything else, ceasing and resting, not daring to make a sound and afraid to waste any time. Often literati who, because of their intelligence and keen aptitude, strongly dislike boisterous places are being made by these heretical masters to do quiet-sitting [*jingzuo*]. They see that they can save effort [doing this kind of practice] and so regard it as correct. They even do not seek wondrous enlightenment, but only regard silence as the highest principle."[84] Here, Dahui associates silent illumination with long hours of passive meditation, which he sees as all-consuming, focused

on "silence," and not concerned with enlightenment. Worst of all, silent illumination teachers are leading literati astray. Dahui continues later in the letter: "Heretical teachers teach literati to regulate the mind and to do quiet-sitting, completely separating themselves from all matters, ceasing and resting. This is clearly a case of using the mind to stop the mind, using the mind to rest the mind, and using the mind to apply the mind. Practicing in this way, how can they not fall into the realm of [dead-end] *dhyāna* [meditation] and annihilationism like the non-Buddhists and the Hīnayānists?"[85]

Dahui associated silent illumination with a kind of meditation that uses the mind to control the mind, which suppresses thought and which induces a state of unreflective calm devoid of wisdom. This kind of practice, he argued, is a soteriological dead end and can never lead to enlightenment. In a *pushuo* (general address) sermon,[86] probably from the period 1156–1159, Dahui further criticized teachers who teach people to suppress the mind and who do not believe in wondrous enlightenment: "They say that enlightenment is a construct and only tell people to sit like mounds of dirt rigidly assigned in rows, and teach them 'quietude' [*jing*]. They call quietude the roots and enlightenment the branches and leaves."[87] In another letter, Dahui warned a lay supporter against silent illumination in this way:

> Nowadays, heretical teachings at Chan monasteries have proliferated at every turn and have blinded the eyes of countless people. If [teachers] do not use the gongan of the ancients to awaken and instruct [students], they will be like the blind person who lets go of the walking stick from his hand: not able to walk a single step. . . . Such people say that the Buddhist teachings and the way of Chan do not rely on words and writings. So they discard everything, and, having gobbled up their provided meals [*xiancheng mifan*], they sit like mounds in the ghostly cave under the black mountain. They call this "being silent and constantly illuminating" or call it "dying the great death" or "the matter before your parents were born" or "the matter before the empty eon" [*kongqie yiqian*] or "the state of beyond the primordial Buddha." They just keep sitting and sitting until they get calluses on their buttocks, without daring to move at all. They call this "unadulterated maturation of self-cultivation step by step."[88]

Dahui's criticism of silent illumination and his advocacy of kanhua practice were closely related. Dahui himself related in a sermon how, shortly after he came to Fujian in 1134, he brought an eighty-three-year-old monk to a great enlightenment. Dahui noted that this monk originally did not even believe in enlightenment, yet in Dahui's hands he soon experienced one. Significantly, Dahui went on to state that it was from that point forward that he began to teach the kanhua technique, which he was "always using to instruct people."[89]

In a later letter to a follower who asked if it was a good idea for beginners to do some quiet-sitting, Dahui replied:

> In my teaching, no matter whether you are a beginner or an experienced student, without regard to whether you have studied for a long time or are just entering [the Way], if you want true quietness, you must break your mind of birth and death. Without holding on to an effort to practice [quietness], if you break your mind of birth and death, then you will be naturally quiet. The skillful means of stillness and quiet that the former sages talked about is exactly this. It is simply that the heretical teachers of this late age do not understand the former sages' talk about skillful means. . . . If you want to do quiet-sitting, just light a stick of incense and sit quietly. When you sit, you must not let yourself become dull, and you must also not become agitated. Dullness [*hunchen*] and agitation [*diaoju*] are what the former sages criticized. But it is only when you do quiet-sitting that you will feel these two kinds of diseases appear. If you [instead] just hold up the words about a dog not having the Buddha-nature, then you do not have to spend energy on dispelling those two diseases, and you will be peaceful right there.[90]

Dahui here claims that the followers of silent illumination misunderstand the function of "stillness" and "quietness." They see quietness as an end in itself—as both a method and the result of that method. Dahui, on the other hand, held that only when one has experienced the breakthrough of enlightenment is true silence manifested. "Everywhere people are saying that when you become still, then you will be enlightened," Dahui once explained, "but I say, when you are enlightened, you will become still."[91]

In Dahui's view, quiet-sitting was not in itself wrong, but difficulties for the meditator would likely arise that did not occur in kanhua practice. So Dahui did not completely condemn quiet-sitting; in fact, he seems to have recommended it, at least to his monastic disciples. Thus, in a sermon from his first abbacy at Jingshan, he said: "Although we do not approve of silent illumination, it is necessary that each of you face the wall [to meditate]."[92] The problem with silent illumination was not the quiet-sitting in itself but the attitude toward enlightenment that the followers of silent illumination brought to the practice of quiet-sitting. Quiet-sitting was inextricably associated in Dahui's mind with the silent illumination teachers who did not understand it as a skillful means, and Dahui felt that its practice could easily lead a person onto the path of the heretical silent illumination teaching.

In the final analysis, Dahui's criticism of silent illumination teachers centered on their understanding of enlightenment: they did not believe in enlightenment as an event in time and space, and they even ridiculed the notion of enlightenment. In yet another letter to a layman, Dahui wrote: "Now the heretical teachers of silent illumination only consider being without a word or an utterance as the highest principle, and this they call the matter of 'beyond the primordial Buddha' or 'before the empty eon.' They

do not believe there is enlightenment: they call enlightenment madness, or they call it secondary, or an expedient teaching, or an expression to attract [people to Chan teachings]."[93] Dahui further complained in a sermon addressed to a literatus, probably written in 1157: "In recent times, among Chan teachers [*conglin*] there has appeared a kind of heretical Chan that takes the disease to be the medicine. [Those who advocate this Chan] themselves have never experienced any enlightenment, and so they maintain that enlightenment is a construct, or an expression to attract people [to Chan teachings], or that it is falling into the secondary [expedient teachings], or that it is a marginal matter like branches and leaves. Exactly because they themselves have never experienced any enlightenment, they don't believe that anyone else has experienced enlightenment either."[94] The problem with the silent illumination teachers, he explains here, was that they had not experienced enlightenment themselves, and they therefore did not believe it was possible at all. Dahui, on the other hand, believed strongly that if Buddhist practice did not lead to a moment of awakening, the whole effort was wasted, and the chance of a lifetime was lost.

Dahui often attacked silent illumination for its failure to lead to enlightenment, but he was rarely very specific in discussing exactly what was wrong with the silent illumination approach and why its followers misunderstood enlightenment. In a passage praising and quoting from a no-longer-extant work by the statesman and Chan enthusiast Zhang Shangying, however, Dahui invoked an analysis of enlightenment from an influential treatise, the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Treatise on the awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna; hereafter *Qixin lun*):[95]

> [Zhang Shangying's text] also says: "When the actualization of enlightenment [*shijue*] merges with inherent enlightenment [*benjue*], then this is called 'Buddha' [i.e. awakening]." That is to say, by actualizing enlightenment now, one merges with inherent enlightenment.[96] The followers of silent illumination[97] often say that wordless silence is the actualization of enlightenment, while "beyond the primordial Buddha" is inherent enlightenment. But this really is impossible. Since it is impossible, what kind of enlightenment is this? If everything is enlightenment, how could there still be delusion? And if you say there is no delusion, how could it be then that old Śākyamuni suddenly was awakened when the morning star appeared and understood that his own essential nature had existed from the very beginning? Therefore, it is said that with the actualization of enlightenment, one merges with inherent enlightenment. It is exactly the same principle when Chan practitioners suddenly find their own noses. Yet there is not a single person in whom this matter is not already complete.[98]

This passage neatly sums up the fundamental difference Dahui saw between himself and the followers of silent illumination: the followers of silent illumination refused to make a clear distinction between inherent enlightenment

and the actualization of enlightenment. In silent illumination, says Dahui, the actualization of enlightenment is understood as "wordless silence," that is, as still meditation. It would seem that in Dahui's understanding, the silent illumination followers maintained that the act of sitting in meditation was in itself the actualization of enlightenment. Thus, the actualization of enlightenment is not a sudden event. Instead, silent illumination Chan emphasized inherent enlightenment as having been present since beginningless time. In this way, Dahui argues, the followers of silent illumination, while pretending to maintain a distinction between the actualization of enlightenment and inherent enlightenment, in fact collapse the two. In emphasizing that all is enlightenment, these heretical teachers obscure the need to overcome delusion. Dahui, by contrast, points out that even the Buddha had to undergo the experience of enlightenment before he recognized his own true nature. If an unenlightened person is ever to truly awaken, he cannot and must not ignore the reality of delusion at this level. Still, as the last sentence in the above passage shows, Dahui did not deny that all sentient beings are already enlightened. He simply emphasized that it is meaningless to talk about an original state of enlightenment before delusion has been overcome and enlightenment realized.

In Dahui's view, the followers of silent illumination made the mistake of not believing that there is a moment of actualization of enlightenment that takes place in relative time and space; that is to say, they did not believe in enlightenment as an event. Rather, they held that as soon as one sits down in meditation with wordless silence, enlightenment is manifested, and they maintained no true distinction between the actualization of enlightenment and original enlightenment. Dahui felt that Chan masters who believed this could not have experienced enlightenment themselves, and therefore they did not know the difference between a truly enlightened state of mind and one that merely suppresses thought.

In a letter to a lay supporter, Dahui further addressed the issue of enlightenment in a critique of Guifeng Zongmi's commentary to the *Yuanjue jing*:[99]

> [In his commentary,] Zongmi takes the sentence "Each and every sentient being all awakens to complete enlightenment [*zheng yuanjue*]"[100] and changes the word "awaken" [*zheng*] to "possess" [*ju*], saying that it was a mistake by the translators.[101] But he didn't see the Sanskrit version, and still just like this discussed it in his commentary, changing the true scripture without [considering himself] daring. . . . If [we say] each and every sentient being *possesses* complete enlightenment and not that they *awaken* to it, then animals will always be animals, and hungry ghosts will always be hungry ghosts. In all worlds in the ten directions, everyone will be like [someone with] a [useless] hammer with no hole for a handle, and not a single person would develop true understanding and return to the source. Ordinary [unenlightened]

> people also would not need to strive for liberation. Why? Because if all sentient beings already all possess complete enlightenment, there really would be no need to strive for awakening.[102]

Dahui here understands "complete enlightenment" as meaning inherent enlightenment in its manifested form. He therefore feels that Zongmi is denying the need for enlightenment to be actualized by not distinguishing between delusion and enlightenment.[103] Dahui, of course, was very aware that from the point of view of enlightenment, the difference between delusion and enlightenment is itself understood to be a delusion, but he feared that if students followed Zongmi's logic, no one would ever be enlightened, and sentient beings would be helplessly stuck in their unenlightened state. Actualization of enlightenment is realizing that inherent enlightenment has always been ours, but without actualization of enlightenment, any talk of inherent enlightenment remains empty words. Although there is no reference to silent illumination in this piece, it shows Dahui's rationale for attacking silent illumination and displays the urgency of his concern for those who waste their lifetime on a dead-end practice.

Dahui thus bravely confronted the Chan school's traditional reluctance to openly juxtapose enlightenment and delusion, and he appears to have been much less afraid than most Chan masters to spiritedly advocate action. With the canonical support of the *Qixin lun,* he strongly came down on the side of the need to work for the actualization of enlightenment. This gave him the freedom to advocate a practical method that can lead to a breakthrough—the kanhua practice by which the practitioner can come to realize that he was always enlightened. To Dahui, the actualization of enlightenment was all-important, because only the enlightened mind can appreciate the fact that everyone is already inherently enlightened. Thus, he argued that it is absolutely necessary to practice with great diligence until enlightenment—as a shattering temporal event—occurs. This was ultimately Dahui's rationale for advocating kanhua Chan and for his attacks on silent illumination.

CHAPTER 6

The Caodong Tradition as the Target of Attacks by the Linji Tradition

DAHUI DID NOT leave his audience in any doubt about his views on silent illumination. It has long been a question in the study of Song Chan, however, who exactly Dahui was condemning when he raged at "heretical teachers of silent illumination Chan," since he rarely mentioned any names or other specifics. Scholars have long assumed that the main object of Dahui's criticism must have been his famous contemporary in the Caodong tradition, Hongzhi Zhengjue.[1] Hongzhi's collection of recorded sayings is one of the few extant twelfth-century sources in which the expression "silent illumination" is used in a nonderogatory sense, most famously in a poem that lyrically describes the "path of silent illumination."[2] In recent years, however, Japanese scholars have pointed out that Dahui and Hongzhi seem to have had cordial relations in their last years. Dahui praised Hongzhi on several occasions during this period and wrote a poem after Hongzhi's death extolling his virtues. For his part, Hongzhi recommended Dahui for the position of abbot at one of the most prestigious monasteries in the empire, and just before passing away he asked that Dahui be put in charge of his funeral.[3] Although Dahui frequently and fiercely attacked silent illumination, there is no evidence that Hongzhi ever responded to these attacks or even that he was aware of them, and therefore it makes little sense to refer to a "debate" between the two.[4] Convinced that Dahui could not have had Hongzhi in mind when he criticized silent illumination, several Japanese scholars have instead found evidence to show that Hongzhi's older fellow student, Zhenxie Qingliao, was the major target of Dahui's attacks.[5]

The current consensus among the few scholars who have concerned themselves with the question, then, is that Dahui, though he may have disagreed with Hongzhi on certain points, did not have Hongzhi in mind when he attacked silent illumination, nor did his criticism target the Caodong tradition in general. According to this view, outside of Qingliao, it is simply not clear who Dahui had in mind when he criticized the "heretical silent illumination teachers," just as it is unclear whether Qingliao or anyone else actually advocated the kind of teaching that Dahui condemned.[6] In this chapter, I revisit the question of who Dahui intended to attack with his denunciation of silent illumination practice. I will argue that there is, in fact,

compelling evidence that Dahui's criticism of silent illumination was aimed not only at Zhenxie Qingliao but also at Hongzhi—and, indeed, at all of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition of Chan. Furthermore, available sources suggest that other members of the Linji lineage began attacking the silent illumination teachings of the new Caodong tradition even prior to the time of Dahui. Finally, I will show that not only the teachings but also the lineage of the Caodong tradition was challenged by forces within the Linji tradition in what would seem to be attempts to undermine its authority.[7]

Dahui and Zhenxie Qingliao

As Ishii Shūdō and others have argued, there is ample evidence that Qingliao was a major target of Dahui's attacks on silent illumination. Several sources indicate, in fact, that Dahui first began his attacks on silent illumination in response to Qingliao's teachings. There are no references of any kind to silent illumination in the extant writings and recorded sayings from Dahui's early career, and it seems clear that Dahui did not begin his attacks on silent illumination, nor his advocacy of kanhua Chan, until he came to Fujian in 1134.

According to the *Dahui nianpu,* in Fujian, Dahui first stayed at the Guangyin monastery near the city of Fuzhou, where he arrived in the third month. Shortly afterward, he moved to the Yangyu monastery in the same area.[8] It was in Fujian that Dahui first came into close contact with Qingliao's teachings and with several of his students. At this time, Qingliao had been abbot at Mount Xuefeng, northwest of the city of Fuzhou, for more than three years. Given that Qingliao had been a well-known Chan master since he took over at Changlu in 1123, Dahui would almost certainly have had some knowledge of Qingliao and his teachings prior to coming to Fujian, just as he would have known of several other Caodong masters. In fact, Dahui claimed that he studied with Caodong masters and came into contact with silent illumination Chan very early in his career. But in a *pushuo* sermon given many years after he left Fujian, Dahui himself dated the beginning of his attacks on silent illumination Chan to his time in Fujian: "Today, in many places, there is a kind of heretical silent illumination Chan. . . . This kind of teaching has in past years been especially abundant in Fujian province. When in the beginning of the Shaoxing era [1131–1163] I lived at a hermitage [*an*] in Fujian, I strongly rejected it."[9] There is little doubt that Dahui meant to implicate Qingliao with the reference to silent illumination in Fujian.

In a *pushuo* sermon from Ayuwang delivered several years after Qingliao had passed away, Dahui associates Qingliao with silent illumination in a number of different ways. Dahui states that in recent years, heretical teachers who had not had any experience of enlightenment were teaching that enlightenment is a "construct." These masters took being quiet and not making a sound to be the matter of "before the empty eon." Even in his

own congregation, Dahui adds, there were people who had been poisoned by such views. He then notes again that in the past, there was a certain master in Fujian who gained some renown and who taught that enlightenment did not exist.[10] A little further on in the sermon, Dahui makes it more explicit that he has Qingliao in mind. He here discusses his attempts to help the nun Miaodao Dingguang (d.u.)[11] to abandon silent illumination: "The master Dingguang had in past years been at the abbot Xie's [Zhenxie Qingliao's] place, where she did not believe that there was such a thing as enlightenment. After I had been to Xuefeng, one evening at a *xiaocan* sermon[12] she suddenly began to doubt, and breaking the summer retreat, she came to [me at] Guangyin. But she still insisted that there was no delusion and no awakening and was severely scolded by me before she realized she was wrong."[13] In this passage, Dahui makes it clear that Dingguang was taught by Qingliao not to believe in enlightenment. Even after Dahui had visited Qingliao's monastery and given a guest sermon (a common practice among Chan masters) and Dingguang had begun to doubt her beliefs enough to break the retreat and come to see Dahui, she still maintained that there was no delusion and no awakening. Since not believing in enlightenment and failing to distinguish between delusion and awakening were some of the main characteristics of silent illumination in Dahui's understanding, Dahui is here further affirming Qingliao's identity as a teacher of heretical silent illumination.

In his surviving writings and sermons, it is only in connection with the nun Dingguang that Dahui directly names Qingliao and implies that he taught silent illumination. But Dahui met several other people in Fujian who had studied with Qingliao and whom he criticized for having been influenced by heretical silent illumination teachings. In the sermon just quoted, Dahui goes on to relate how after having moved to Yangyu, he brought thirteen people to enlightenment in a few weeks, among them an eighty-three-year-old local monk who originally did not even believe in enlightenment. As noted in the previous chapter, Dahui then states that it was after this experience that he began to teach the kanhua technique to people.[14] Since earlier in the same sermon Dahui had identified Qingliao as teaching people not to believe in enlightenment, it seems to be implied here that the old monk also was under Qingliao's influence. Dahui's remarks in this sermon show how pervasive he found silent illumination views to be in Fujian, and there is little doubt that Dahui felt Qingliao was to blame.

In Dahui's collection of written sermons addressed to specific persons (*fayu*) in the *Dahui yulu,* a sermon is offered to the Chan student Zunpu (d.u).[15] In a note attached to the sermon, internally dated to 1135, Dahui tells the story of Zunpu and Xiangyun Tanyi (d.u.),[16] both of whom had studied under Dahui's master, Yuanwu Keqin. According to Dahui's note, both had some minor attainments but believed themselves to be fully accomplished. When Dahui came to Fujian, Tanyi was leading his own congregation there, and Zunpu was with him. Dahui knew that Tanyi did not have a complete understanding and feared that he was misleading those who studied under

him. He therefore ordered Tanyi to come to him, and when Tanyi dragged his feet, Dahui gave a sermon harshly criticizing his wrong views and put it up on the gate in writing for all to see. When Tanyi finally came to him, Dahui upbraided him for claiming to be an heir to Yuanwu Keqin, expounding the kind of teachings he did. Dahui eventually made Tanyi and Zunpu see their errors and brought both of them to enlightenment. In the note, Dahui defends his harsh criticism of them, since it led them to give up their wrong views and become fully enlightened.[17]

The note does not mention in what way these two teachers had erred. In the sermon that precedes it, Dahui laments the many bad teachers of his day in general and points out that students can be only as good as their teachers, but he does not attack specific teachings, such as silent illumination.[18] The story of Tanyi and Zunpu is quoted, however, in the 1134 entry of the *Dahui nianpu,* and immediately following this story the *Dahui nianpu* states that many in Fujian had discarded enlightenment and were immersed in "silence" (*jimo*) and that Dahui attacked this.[19] Thus, the editors of the *Dahui nianpu* suggest that the error of Tanyi and Zunpu was that of following silent illumination teachings. Dahui's note on Tanyi and Zunpu also corresponds to a passage in the entry on Dahui in the *Xu chuandeng lu.*[20] This passage seems to be mainly an abbreviation and rephrasing of Dahui's note, but it contains an additional piece of information: after studying with Yuanwu Keqin, it says, Tanyi and Zunpu joined Qingliao's congregation. Then follows a description of their illusory attainments.[21] The entry strongly implies, then, that they learned the errors they taught from Qingliao. It seems unlikely that the compiler of the *Xu chuandeng lu* would have added the part about Qingliao. There would have been no obvious reason for him to do so, and, preparing his work in the late fourteenth century, he is not likely to have had any prior notion of Qingliao as the target of Dahui's criticism. It therefore must have been present in the source on which the *Xu chuandeng lu* is based, but for some reason it was not included in the version of the story found in Dahui's recorded sayings.

The persons discussed above who had come under the influence of silent illumination were all Buddhist monastics. But although he appears to have been deeply worried about silent illumination contaminating the practice of monastics, Dahui was even more concerned about the appeal that silent illumination held for laypeople, that is, members of the educated elite. By far most of Dahui's attacks on silent illumination, as well as most of the passages in which he advocates kanhua Chan, are found in sermons dedicated to literati or in letters written to them. Almost all the quotes given in the previous chapter, as well as those used above, are from letters or sermons explicitly directed to members of the educated elite. In the sermon quoted earlier, wherein Dahui relates how he began attacking silent illumination when he was in Fujian, he describes how silent illumination was being taught to vulnerable literati: "Literati often have [the problem of] busy minds. So today, in many places, there is a kind of heretical silent illumination Chan. [The people who teach this] see that literati are obstructed

by worldly concerns and that their hearts are not at peace, and accordingly they teach them to be like 'cold ashes or dry wood,' or like 'a strip of white silk,' or like 'an incense pot in an old shrine,' or 'cold and somber.'"[22] Here Dahui expressed his concern that literati were being led astray by silent illumination teachings, but he also seemed to acknowledge that such teachings were very attractive to many literati.

Dahui's special concern that literati were being ensnared by silent illumination is evident throughout his attacks on it. It seems that in Fujian Dahui met a number of literati who had been influenced by silent illumination ideas, and several of these literati can be shown to have had connections to Qingliao. In a *pushuo* sermon given sometime before 1137,[23] for example, Dahui told the enlightenment story of Wu Weiming (d.u., *jinshi* degree 1106).[24] Dahui had heard of but not met Wu when Dahui was still at the Yunmen temple in Jiangxi between 1131 and 1133. At that time, Wu was under the influence of heretical teachers, but Dahui did not know this. Had he known, Dahui notes, he would have tried hard to save him. But when Dahui moved to the Guangyin monastery in Fujian, Wu Weiming came to visit him, and Dahui immediately saw that he did not have true understanding. He then gave Wu the story about a dog not having the Buddha-nature to work on. Wu stayed at Guangyin for ten days and came to see Dahui in his room twenty times. Eventually, he was enlightened.[25] This piece contains much criticism of silent illumination, but it is not explicitly said that this was Wu Weiming's error. However, the entry on Wu Weiming in the *Pudeng lu* states that Wu first studied with Zhenxie Qingliao, who taught him that samādhi (*sanmei;* meditation) was the highest accomplishment.[26] This implies that it was well known that Wu Weiming had studied with Qingliao and that Qingliao had taught him meditation in silent illumination style.

Another literatus who had been under the corrupting influence of Qingliao and with whom Dahui later exchanged letters (and who he perhaps met in person) was the scholar-official Liu Zihui (1101–1147).[27] In a preface to the *Yizhang lu* (Record of [the slap of] one hand), Qingliao's now-lost collection of recorded sayings, two poems by Liu Zihui that celebrate its publication are quoted by the author, Li Gang (1083–1140).[28] In one of the poems, Liu talks of Qingliao and states that "since following the teaching style of silent realization [*moqi*], I have fallen into a state of freely roaming in Chan."[29] The preface was written just before Dahui came to Fujian. Liu's poem indicates that he was an active follower of Qingliao's silent illumination teachings, and the inclusion of his poems in the preface suggests his closeness to Qingliao. That Liu Zihui studied with Qingliao is confirmed in the famed Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi's collected talks, the *Zhuzi yulei* (Classified sayings of master Zhu). Zhu Xi, who as a young man studied with Liu Zihui, relates that in his youth, Liu was stationed as an official in Putian near Fuzhou. There, he studied with a monk who could sit in meditation for several days continuously.[30] Later, Liu went to see Qingliao. He finally wrote a work attempting to harmonize the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism.[31] Liu Zihui was appointed to Putian in 1134,[32] and it was

early in that same year that the preface to Qingliao's *Yizhang lu* was written. It would thus seem that Liu Zihui must have known Qingliao before he came to Fujian and that he probably wrote his poems prior to being posted there. It is well documented, then, that Liu Zihui had close connections to Qingliao, which were probably strengthened while he was stationed in Fujian.

But Liu Zihui also interacted with Dahui, as two letters to him from Dahui attest. In these letters, perhaps written in 1139, Dahui expounds at length on the evils of silent illumination and advocates the contemplation of Zhaozhou's "no" (*wu*).[33] It is doubtful that Dahui succeeded in converting Liu Zihui to his point of view, and there is no record of any further contact between the two. Dahui had more success with Liu Zihui's brother, Liu Ziyu (1097–1146), who studied with him and became recognized as one of his lay dharma heirs.[34] In a surviving letter to Liu Ziyu, Dahui complains of how Liu Zihui had fallen prey to heretical teachers and their silent illumination ideas.[35]

While in Fujian, Dahui came to know yet another scholar who believed in the silent illumination approach. In the sermon quoted at the beginning of this chapter, he told the story of the scholar Zheng Ang (b. 1071?).[36] When Dahui was in Fujian, Zheng came to him one day and angrily asked why he denounced silent illumination. In response, Dahui preached to him at length, and in the end Zheng submitted to Dahui's views and agreed to come and study with him.[37] In the *Dahui nianpu,* Zheng is listed as one of the literati who became enlightened under Dahui.[38] We do not know if Zheng Ang ever studied with Qingliao, but since he lived in Fujian during the time Qingliao was active there and was apparently a strong proponent of silent illumination, it is very likely that he did. If so, Dahui must have known about it. Dahui no doubt was also conscious of the fact that the other literati discussed above had studied with Qingliao, although he made no specific references to this connection.

It is clear that Dahui was very aware of Qingliao and his teachings and that he felt very strongly that Qingliao was misleading both literati and monastics with his silent illumination approach. This is further indicated in a very interesting and somewhat curious sermon that Dahui gave at Qingliao's monastery at Xuefeng shortly after he came to Fujian—probably the sermon that prompted the nun Dingguang to visit him.[39] In most of the sermon, Dahui was not directly critical of Qingliao, nor does the piece contain the strong attacks on silent illumination that are found in so many of Dahui's writings. In fact, Dahui praised Qingliao and called him a "clear-eyed teacher."[40] But at the end of the sermon, Dahui talked about how Qingliao was always teaching his students to undertake the task of being "outside the eon." This teaching was a temporary expedient, Dahui said, that should not be taken for the real thing, like a finger pointing at the moon. If it was not understood as an expedient means, Dahui warned, it could lead people to "sit immovable in the ghostly cave under the black mountain until they get calluses on bones and buttocks, and saliva is dripping from their mouths."[41]

"Outside the eon" (like "before the empty eon," "beyond the primordial Buddha," "your face before your parents were born," and so on) is a code phrase for silent illumination in Dahui's usage, and this and the related expressions were much used in the twelfth-century Caodong tradition. As we have seen, "before the empty eon" is said to have had a crucial role in Qingliao's own enlightenment experience, as well as in that of Hongzhi.[42] "Sitting in the ghostly cave" is Dahui's oft-used metaphor for the prolonged and quietistic meditation that he considered to be typical of heretical silent illumination Chan. Dahui ended the sermon with a discussion of a gongan story, which he prefaced by saying that Qingliao still did not understand this gongan but that he, Dahui, would explain it to him. The gongan involves Linji Yixuan, the founder of the Linji tradition, and concerns a monk who asked whether he should bow or not bow. It seems to be about the need to go beyond expedient means to achieve a real awakening.[43] In this way, Dahui concluded his sermon at Qingliao's monastery by leveling a thinly veiled attack at Qingliao and his teachings—an attack that could not have been lost on either the listeners or Qingliao himself.

Criticizing the host and his teachings when invited to give a talk at a monastery was probably both very unusual and highly provocative, and the incident was remembered. In the *Conglin gonglun* (General discussions from the [Chan] monasteries), a compilation of anecdotes published in 1189, twenty-six years after Dahui passed away, an entry on Qingliao contains this recollection of the event: "When the master [Qingliao] was in charge of Fujian's Xuefeng, the congregation had almost one thousand seven hundred members. One evening Miaoxi Gao [Dahui] preached [at Xuefeng], and in his talk he slighted him [Qingliao] much. But the master [Qingliao] kept calm and composed."[44] Doubtless, this refers to the sermon discussed above. From the description, it seems possible that the sermon, as delivered, was even more critical of Qingliao than the version recorded in Dahui's *yulu*—or, at least, it was remembered as such.

In any event, Dahui's contemporaries must have been very much aware of his attacks on Qingliao, and several generations later they were still recalled. Thus, at the end of a commentary attributed to Qingliao on the *Xinxin ming* (Inscription of faith in mind),[45] a note by a monk named Yiyuan is attached. Yiyuan is probably Wuwai Yiyuan (active during the first half of the thirteenth century), who was a student of Tiantong Rujing (1162–1227), a Caodong master in Qingliao's lineage and the teacher of the famous founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen tradition, Dōgen.[46] The note says: "In the Shaoxing period, Miaoxi [Dahui] was in the lineage of the East Mountain [of Wuzu Fayan], and he slandered silent illumination. Ji'an [Qingliao] [then] raised this [commentary]; one might say that he went into his room and took up his spear, grabbed his lance and beat his shield. Readers should be able to get [the meaning] themselves."[47] The next chapter will return to this commentary by Qingliao. What is important to note here is that several generations after both Qingliao and Dahui had passed away, Dahui's criticism of Qingliao was still remembered.

Finally, an interesting remark by Zhu Xi alludes to Dahui's attacks on Qingliao. In the *Zhuzi yulei,* Zhu Xi is quoted as saying, "In past times, the elder Liao [Qingliao] exclusively taught people to sit in meditation. The elder Gao [Dahui] considered this incorrect and wrote the *Zhengxie lun* [Discussion of the orthodox and heterodox] to reject it."[48] No *Zhengxie lun* by Dahui is known from other sources, but the 1134 entry in the *Dahui nianpu,* after mentioning how widespread silent illumination was in Fujian at the time, goes on to say that Dahui wrote a *Bian zhengxie shuo* (Exposition on discerning the orthodox and heterodox) to attack it.[49] Dahui himself mentions in a letter to a scholar-official that he wrote a *Bian xiezheng shuo* (Exposition on discerning the heterodox and orthodox) to save all the blind people who misunderstand expedient means.[50] These references must all be to the same work, although it is no longer extant. It seems very likely, as Zhu Xi would have it, that Dahui wrote this work specifically in response to the teachings of Qingliao while he was in Fujian, and perhaps it contained more explicit attacks on Qingliao.

Dahui's View of the Twelfth-Century Caodong Tradition

Qingliao left Fujian in late 1136, and Dahui left in 1137 to take up the prestigious abbacy at Jingshan. However, none of this caused Dahui to give up or even tone down his criticism of silent illumination. Around the time he first became abbot at Jingshan in 1137, in fact, Dahui began to make it clear that he targeted not only Qingliao but the whole twelfth-century Caodong tradition with his attacks on silent illumination.[51] The following story about Dahui at Jingshan appears in the *Chanlin baoxun:*

> The monk Wan'an Yan[52] said: "When my former teacher Miaoxi [Dahui] was first abbot at Jingshan, one day at an evening sermon he gave his opinion on the various Chan teachers. When he came to the essentials of the Caodong tradition, he went on for a long time without stopping. The next day, the head monk, Yin [d.u.],[53] said to my former teacher: 'Now, leaving the world to benefit all beings is not a trivial matter. One must wish to propagate the teachings of one's tradition and, when it is appropriate, save [people] from what is fraudulent. But one should not follow one's fancy, grasping at what comes to mind. When formerly you were a student of Chan and gave your opinion on various teachers, you even then could not be reckless. How much more so now that you are in the seat of the Precious Lotus King as a teacher?' Dahui said: 'Last night was just the talk of one occasion.' The head monk said: 'The teachings of the saints and worthies are based on heavenly nature. How can you be casual about it?' My former teacher [Dahui] bowed his head and apologized, but the head monk still kept talking."[54]

The context of the story makes it clear that Dahui was criticizing the teachings of the Caodong tradition when he was "going on for a long time without stopping." The head monk, Yin, was obviously offended by Dahui's out-

pouring and confronted him the following day. Though this story does not mention silent illumination, it strongly suggests that Dahui had a negative attitude toward the Caodong tradition in general.

This negative attitude was not just the "talk of one occasion"; evidence of it can be found in a number of sources associated with Dahui. In a letter to the literatus Fu Zhirou (d. 1156) perhaps dating to 1138,[55] Dahui wrote: "You must definitely not be taken in by the nonsense of heretical teachers, who drag you into the ghostly cave and [make you] knit your brows and close your eyes, producing illusory thought. Recently, the way of the patriarchs has declined. Those fellows are showing up everywhere, like weeds. Truly, it is the blind leading the blind. They drag each other into the flaming pit. They are deeply to be pitied. Please firmly straighten your spine and stiffen your bones, and don't go join that gang. . . . In the past, I myself was led into error by those fellows. If I had not later met true teachers, I would perhaps have wasted a whole lifetime."[56] The heretical teachers that Dahui talks about here are clearly those who teach silent illumination, as the references to the "ghostly cave" and "closed eyes" indicate.

It is noteworthy that Dahui here states that he himself studied with teachers who taught silent illumination. The only teachers he could be referring to are those from the Caodong tradition, with whom he claims to have studied for two years.[57] Indeed, Dahui has nothing flattering to report about the Caodong masters that he studied with in the several sermons in which he remarks upon them. In the *pushuo* sermon wherein Dahui discussed the nun Dingguang, he also recalled:

> In the past, when I was at Mount Letan, there was an Attendant Jian [d.u.][58] who was a younger relative of master Zhantang Zhun [Wenzhun]. He had been an attendant for master Kai [Furong Daokai] for more than ten years and had completely obtained his Way. Through him, I came to understand [the Caodong teachings]. Also, the monk Dongshan Wei [Daowei] was Furong's prominent disciple. He actually did have a teaching of enlightenment, only it wasn't really right, and he would transmit numerous matters of his own tradition. I studied with him for two years. [His disciples] would have their heads burned [with incense] and their shoulders branded and take vows[59] [when they received his transmission].[60] I came to a complete understanding [of Daowei's teachings]. I then wrote a public notice and put it up in front of the monks' hall.[61] [The notice said:] "How can talented people who study Chan agree to approach a master and eat wild fox spittle from the corner of his mouth! They will all [in the future] have to swallow iron sticks in front of the devil [in hell]."[62]

Although the meaning of parts of this passage is not entirely clear, Dahui's strong dislike for Daowei and his Chan teachings is apparent. Dahui seems to accuse Daowei of having some sort of special, and perhaps secret, transmission ritual; but more important, Dahui also suggests that there was something wrong with Daowei's teaching of enlightenment.

In another late *pushuo* sermon, Dahui again states that when he first started traveling he studied with Daowei for two years and that he completely mastered the Caodong teachings. Here, too, he mentions studying with Daokai's student, Attendant Jian. This time, he is more specific in his criticism: "At the time, I said that they may have had some [teachings] that were right, but in [their teachings] was something that was not right. Why do they not seem ever to have had any enlightenment? If they actually have enlightenment, they should make use of it at once. If they do not have it, then they are just fellows transmitting a lot of words. I am not going after other matters of the Caodong tradition, but they even say that enlightenment is a construct and that it is falling into the secondary."[63] Dahui is here strongly suggesting that the Caodong teachers had never experienced any enlightenment, and so they would slight enlightenment by calling it a construct or a secondary teaching. Dahui takes pains to emphasize that the Caodong teachers he studied with were well-known and well-respected masters of their tradition and were representative of Daokai's teachings and of the new Caodong tradition in general.[64] He also stresses that he had completely mastered the Caodong teachings. In this way, Dahui makes clear that he was eminently qualified to judge Caodong doctrine and that there was no question of his having an incomplete knowledge of it or that what he had learned was peculiar to a few Caodong masters. Dahui strongly implies that his criticism applies not only to Daowei and Attendant Jian but to all of the Caodong tradition. This was also the impact of the story about Dahui in the *Chanlin baoxun* quoted above.

A few other sources mention Dahui's disappointment as a student of the Caodong tradition. The *Dahui Pujue chanshi zongmen wuku* (Chan master Dahui Pujue's arsenal for the Chan school) says that Dahui studied with the Caodong monks Yuan (d.u.),[65] Wei (Daowei), and Jian and completely mastered the Caodong teachings but rejected them, saying, "How could the Buddhas and patriarchs have had a teaching of self-awakening and self-enlightenment?"[66] Finally, Dahui's funerary inscription relates that he studied with (unspecified) masters from the Caodong tradition and learned their teachings but then sighed and said, "Can this really be the intention of the Buddhas and patriarchs?"[67]

Dahui associated silent illumination with a number of special expressions employed to denote a state before the world came into being, where everything appears as undifferentiated, pure Buddha-nature. Thus, as cited in the previous chapter, he said about masters who used such expressions: "So they discard everything, and, having gobbled up their provided meals, they sit like mounds in the ghostly cave under the black mountain. They call this 'being silent and constantly illuminating' or call it 'dying the great death' or 'the matter before your parents were born' or 'the matter before the empty eon' or 'the state of beyond the primordial Buddha.'"[68] These expressions can all be found in a number of different places in Chan Buddhist literature. But, as I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, in the twelfth century these expressions seem to have become especially

associated with the Caodong tradition, within which they were constantly used and figured very prominently. The expression "before the empty eon" is reported to have played a crucial role in the enlightenment experiences of both Hongzhi and Qingliao, as well as in that of their teacher Danxia Zichun. Hongzhi often used the expression in his recorded sayings,[69] and it is also found in the surviving records of several of his contemporary Caodong masters.[70] Furong Daokai, who was the teacher of Danxia Zichun, also seems to have used this and the related expressions frequently.[71] When Dahui used these expressions to characterize the silent illumination he attacked, he could not have been unaware of their special importance in the Caodong tradition. It seems clear that we here find yet another indication that Dahui had the revived Caodong tradition as a whole in mind when he criticized silent illumination.

On a number of occasions, Dahui also accused the proponents of silent illumination of teaching literati to be like "cold ashes or dry wood," "a strip of white silk," "an incense pot in an old shrine," or "cold and somber," and of telling them to let their minds "cease" and "rest" and emulate "one thought lasts ten thousand years."[72] This list comprises seven practice instructions, or maxims, that were originally attributed to Shishuang Qingzhu (807–888), whose congregation was known as the "dry wood congregation" because of its emphasis on meditation.[73] All seven of Shishuang Qingzhu's instructions were frequently used in the teachings of twelfth-century Caodong masters, but I have found no twelfth-century Chan master from outside the Caodong tradition who used them in a positive sense. In fact, in Yuanwu Keqin's recorded sayings, someone asks Keqin about the Caodong tradition, and to exemplify its teachings the questioner uses the expressions "go cease, go rest, [be like] an incense pot in an old shrine,"[74] showing that these were stock phrases commonly associated with the Caodong tradition. When Dahui criticized Qingzhu's instructions and associated them with silent illumination, he must have been quite aware that they were strongly linked to the new Caodong tradition.

Finally, Dahui's unhappiness with the Caodong tradition in general is expressed in a portrait inscription he wrote in honor of Hongzhi shortly after Hongzhi had passed away. Here, Dahui says that Hongzhi "pulled away the Caodong tradition from the brink of being already lost, and administered his acupuncture needle to its vital organs at a time when death seemed certain."[75] Since the Caodong tradition had been flourishing both before and during the time of Hongzhi, Dahui cannot have meant that the Caodong lineage was dying out. Rather, Dahui was clearly suggesting that a spiritual decay had beset the Caodong tradition, which he saw as manifest in the Caodong teachings of silent illumination.

Dahui and Hongzhi

Dahui and Hongzhi must have learned of each other quite early in their careers.[76] Hongzhi held the position of abbot at several monasteries starting

in 1124, and it is likely that Dahui would have heard of him. Likewise, Dahui was well known even before he had his enlightenment experience under Yuanwu Keqin in 1125, and Hongzhi almost certainly would have known of him. In the summer of 1128, Hongzhi visited Dahui's master, Yuanwu Keqin, at Mount Yunju, and in the ninth month of that year he took up the abbacy at Mount Changlu, partly at the recommendation of Keqin. Dahui joined Keqin at Mount Yunju in the tenth month of the same year. At least from this time forward, the two could not possibly have been unaware of each other.

At this point, Dahui had not yet come to advocate his kanhua practice, while Hongzhi probably already was teaching something akin to what Dahui later branded "silent illumination." Dahui is likely to have been aware of Hongzhi's teaching style by 1128, and he must also have realized that Yuanwu Keqin had a high opinion of Hongzhi. In late 1129, Hongzhi took up the abbacy at Mount Tiantong, where he stayed, except for a brief interruption in 1138, until his death in 1157. In 1137, Dahui became the abbot at Jingshan, where he remained until he was exiled in 1141. During this period, Dahui and Hongzhi were both famous abbots at prestigious monasteries within a few hundred kilometers of each other (even closer during the time when Hongzhi was in Hangzhou), but there is no record of Hongzhi and Dahui having met during this time, and neither mentioned the other in sermons or writings. It seems somewhat unusual that Dahui and Hongzhi should not have visited each other or had some kind of interaction, as would have been normal for famous Chan masters living in the same area.[77] But Hongzhi and Dahui apparently did not meet at all until 1157, the year Hongzhi passed away.

The lack of interaction between these two famous contemporary Chan masters during most of their lives may well have been connected to Dahui's attacks on silent illumination. Qingliao, Hongzhi's older fellow disciple, appears to have played an important role as a mentor to Hongzhi when Hongzhi served for two years as his head monk at Mount Changlu. It is clear that Hongzhi held Qingliao in very high esteem, and, as we have seen, when Qingliao passed away in 1151, Hongzhi wrote a laudatory epitaph for him. Once Dahui was at Jingshan, his often-expressed low opinion of Qingliao's teachings and of the entire Caodong tradition could not have escaped Hongzhi's notice.

Dahui also at times implicated Hongzhi directly when he was criticizing teachers of silent illumination. In the letter to Fu Zhirou quoted above, Dahui urged Fu not to be taken in by heretical teachers and then explained that he himself was led into error by the same kind of teacher. As just demonstrated, Dahui was talking about the Caodong tradition and its teaching of silent illumination. Two more letters from Dahui to Fu Zhirou exist, in which Dahui further strongly denounced silent illumination.[78] The letters to Fu Zhirou were probably written around 1138, when Dahui was abbot at Jingshan. However, earlier, in 1131, Fu had written a preface to the first compilation of Hongzhi's recorded sayings, in which he praises Hongzhi

and uses the expression "before the empty eon."[79] It would seem, therefore, that Fu must have had fairly close connections to Hongzhi during the early part of Hongzhi's career, while he is not known to have had contact with any other Caodong master. When Dahui warned Fu about the dangers of silent illumination, he almost certainly had the teachings of Hongzhi in mind.[80]

In addition, much of the vocabulary that Dahui uses to describe heretical silent illumination Chan was used by Hongzhi. Some of these expressions, such as "before the first eon" and Shishuang Qingzhu's seven practice instructions, have already been discussed. Hongzhi also used many of the other expressions that Dahui associated with a passive meditation, such as "beyond the primordial Buddha" or "the time before your parents were born."[81] In the letter to Liu Ziyu cited earlier, Dahui warned about heretical teachers who tell people to sit still with their eyes closed and call it "being silent and constantly illuminating" (*mo er chang zhao*).[82] Although the letter complains about the silent illumination inclinations of Liu Ziyu's brother, Liu Zihui, who was associated with Qingliao, this expression is not found in Qingliao's surviving record. However, Hongzhi uses a very similar expression when he instructs his audience to "just be completely silent and self-illuminating" (*wei momo er zi zhao*).[83] Qingliao may well have used this kind of expression too, of course, but what is of interest here is that Dahui must have been aware of Hongzhi's use of it: the expression is found in the sermon collection from Hongzhi's earliest years at Tiantong for which Fu Zhirou wrote his 1131 preface. Dahui certainly would have known of this work at the time of his tenure at Jingshan in 1137, when he was writing to the Liu brothers.

Likewise, the expression "silent illumination" itself is only found in the surviving writings of Hongzhi. It is possible, even likely, that other Caodong masters also used the term, but Hongzhi probably wrote his famous poem "Mozhao ming" (Inscription on silent illumination) quite early in his career, and it seems to have been included in the 1131 publication of his recorded sayings.[84] Again, Dahui would have known of this poem, and thus Dahui must have known that Hongzhi used the term "silent illumination" as descriptive of his own teachings when he launched his attacks on silent illumination in 1134. It seems inconceivable that Dahui's contemporaries would have understood his attacks on silent illumination to have excluded Hongzhi, and this fact must have been appreciated by Dahui and by Hongzhi himself.

Although Dahui was at least implicitly critical of Hongzhi through most of his career, it seems possible that he changed his mind about Hongzhi late in life. A close relationship between Hongzhi and Dahui seems to have begun when, in 1156, Hongzhi reportedly petitioned that Dahui be appointed abbot to the prestigious monastery at Mount Ayuwang near Mount Tiantong, where Hongzhi was the abbot.[85] This was shortly after Dahui had been released from his fifteen-year exile in the South and restored to monkhood. One source relates that Hongzhi amassed extra supplies in his mon-

astery, which he gave to Dahui when the latter arrived at Mount Ayuwang at the end of 1156.[86] The two masters had several amiable interactions over the following year, and just before Hongzhi passed away in the tenth month of 1157, he asked Dahui to take care of his after-death affairs.[87] Hongzhi's recorded sayings contain little, if any, material from his last years. It is possible, as suggested by Ishii Shūdō, that Hongzhi's teachings began to emphasize enlightenment more. Hongzhi's 1151 funerary inscription for his older dharma brother and mentor, Qingliao, begins its poetic praise with the lines, "The lamp of the Buddha and the patriarchs, goes East to West in a continuous line;/with enlightenment as the standard, awakening is certified in mutual response."[88] Perhaps Hongzhi's late teachings did become more to Dahui's liking.

In fact, in his sermons at Ayuwang, Dahui mentioned Hongzhi on several occasions and called him a first-rank teacher. In the sermon in which Dahui discusses the nun Dingguang, and wherein he criticizes silent illumination in a way that implicates Qingliao, he also notes that several literati who had a good understanding of Chan were present in his audience. Some of them once studied with Hongzhi, Dahui explains, and thus one could know that Hongzhi was a superior master.[89] This kind of praise might seem to indicate that Dahui cannot have targeted Hongzhi with his criticism of silent illumination.[90] On the other hand, it should be noted that the literati Dahui mentions here became followers of Dahui, not Hongzhi, in the end, and thus Dahui could afford to be generous.

In any case, Dahui's praise of Hongzhi was not always so unqualified. In the sermon cited earlier from Ayuwang, in which Dahui claims to have studied with masters of the Caodong tradition and eventually rejected their teachings, he further says: "Chan students, if you believe that wondrous enlightenment truly exists, come study here. If you believe that enlightenment is [just] like branches and leaves, go somewhere else to study. I do not deceive you. At a mountain close to here, the master Tiantong [Hongzhi] resides. He is a master of the first rank. When I was still wandering about, he was already an established master. He also has accomplished disciples who are abbots in this area. You just go ask him. If he still says that enlightenment is [just] the branches and leaves, I will dare to say that he too is a blind fellow."[91] This is another passage that is sometimes quoted to show the high esteem in which Dahui held Hongzhi. Yet this praise for Hongzhi is mixed at best. Dahui contrasts his own teaching that enlightenment truly exists with Hongzhi's approach, which he associates with the loathed statement that enlightenment is like branches and leaves. Hongzhi did in fact refer to enlightenment as branches and leaves on at least one occasion, as Dahui very likely was aware.[92] In this respect, then, Hongzhi was no better than any of the other Caodong masters in Dahui's eyes, as the last line in the passage forcefully emphasizes.

Dahui's criticism of Hongzhi may not seem easy to reconcile with his statement that Hongzhi was "a master of the first rank" or with the state-

ments in the inscription Dahui wrote for him after his death, which ended with the lament that after Hongzhi was gone, "Who else truly understands me?"[93] However, in later generations, not everyone remembered the relations between Dahui and Hongzhi during their last years as particularly amiable. The following interesting story is found in the edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings that was included in the second supplement to the Ming canon, published in 1672:

> When Hongzhi was about to die, he asked Dahui to take charge of his affairs after death. Dahui came [to Tiantong] and asked: "Is the master [Hongzhi] at peace?" The attendant said: "The master has no disease." Dahui laughed and said: "What a dull bird." The master [Hongzhi] heard this and accordingly responded to him with a poem that had the words: "It is easy for a dull bird to leave the nest, but difficult for a sacred turtle to shed its shell." Together with this [poem], he [Hongzhi] left him [Dahui] an open box [*quqie*][94] with a warning that said: "When there is an emergency, open and look." He then passed away. Not long after, Dahui began to suffer from ulcers on his back that were leaking inflamed matter. He then remembered Hongzhi's words, and when he looked in the box, he found that it contained cotton flowers. He used them to put on his wounds, and when he had used up the flowers, he passed away. At the time, one could in this way determine who of the two masters was superior.[95]

This account is inserted as a note to a portrait inscription for Hongzhi by the famous Lu You that contains an allusion to the story.[96] It would seem, then, that this story was circulating shortly after the two masters had passed away. The importance of the story lies not, of course, in whether any part of it is based in fact[97] but in its demonstration that Dahui and Hongzhi, in spite of their seemingly good relationship, were conceived of as antagonists by their contemporaries or near-contemporaries.

This is also evidenced by a remark in the recorded sayings of the Chan master Xiyan Liaohui (1198–1262). Liaohui at one time held the abbacies at both Mount Ayuwang and Mount Tiantong, and in a sermon from this period he notes that in the past, Dahui and Hongzhi, while living on these two mountains, were rivals who could not stand each other. Liaohui does not mention the issue of silent illumination; rather, he states that Hongzhi held up the five ranks (*wuwei*), while Dahui expounded the three mysteries (*sanxuan*).[98] In any case, Liaohui apparently did not think of Hongzhi and Dahui as having reconciled during the late period of their lives.

The sentiments expressed in these sources could perhaps be ascribed to rivalry between descendants in the lineages of Dahui and Hongzhi, and it is certainly possible that Dahui in some ways changed his mind about Hongzhi. But he clearly did not change his mind about silent illumination. Many of the attacks on silent illumination quoted here and in the previous chapter date to a time after Dahui came to Mount Ayuwang at Hongzhi's

recommendation. In fact, Dahui may even have stepped up his attacks during this period. Though it is possible that he came to genuinely respect Hongzhi and his teachings, as their amiable interactions and Dahui's words of praise for Hongzhi would indicate, both Dahui's criticism of Hongzhi and their seemingly good relationship during their late years must be placed in a greater context: they must be understood at least in part as a result of Hongzhi's and Dahui's adapting to and responding to the social and political realities of their time. I will return to this point in the conclusion.

The evidence that Dahui targeted teachers in the Caodong tradition as a whole with his criticism of silent illumination is very substantial. It might be argued, however, that Dahui was reacting to silent illumination approaches in Song Chan in general and that the teachings of the Caodong tradition were only a small part of the picture. After all, criticisms of a passive and thought-suppressing approach to Chan can be found sporadically in Chan literature long before Dahui, and they usually cannot be associated with the Caodong tradition.[99] As we have seen, Dahui did criticize some of his fellow disciples under Yuanwu Keqin for not believing in enlightenment, although they appear to have been under the influence of Zhenxie Qingliao. Dahui also criticized Donglin Changzong,[100] a disciple of the famous Huanglong Huinan, for not seeking enlightenment.[101] Here, no connection to any Caodong teacher can be established.

But although Dahui may have seen silent illumination tendencies in some of his fellow Linji monks, his attacks do not appear to have been of a general nature. Several of the key terms that Dahui used to characterize silent illumination are well documented in contemporary Caodong sources but cannot be found in texts associated with other twelfth-century Chan figures. As we have seen, many of the people that Dahui accused of holding silent illumination views can be associated with the Caodong tradition in one way or the other. It is also significant that when Dahui warned about the evils of silent illumination, he very often prefaced his comments by noting that its heretical teachers had appeared especially in "recent years."[102] This suggests that he was referring to the abrupt emergence of the Caodong tradition in the twelfth century. When Dahui talked about how the teachers of silent illumination had suddenly appeared, and when he complained that "those fellows are showing up everywhere,"[103] he almost certainly was reacting to the sudden rise in the fortunes of the Caodong tradition.[104]

Earlier Attacks on Caodong Silent Illumination

The dominant voice attacking the new Caodong tradition was that of Dahui Zonggao, whose condemnation of "heretical silent illumination Chan" became famous for all ages. However, Dahui was not the only twelfth-century Linji Chan master to attack the teachings of the Caodong tradition. Dahui's older fellow disciple under Keqin, Foxing Fatai,[105] also criticized unnamed people on at least one occasion for not seeking enlightenment, using sev-

eral of the terms that Dahui used to attack Caodong silent illumination.[106] It is not possible to date these attacks, but it seems likely that Fatai was targeting the Caodong tradition and that he was inspired by Dahui. However, Dahui may not have been the first Linji master to attack the teachings of the new Caodong tradition.

Many years after Dahui, the late-Ming Chan master Tanji Hongren (1599–1638)[107] stated that major attacks on "heretical silent illumination Chan" were carried out by Zhenjing Kewen (1025–1102) and Wuzu Fayan, as well as by Dahui.[108] This interesting suggestion that attacks on the Caodong tradition's approach to practice and enlightenment began well before the time of Dahui cannot be conclusively verified with extant sources, but there are several indications that it may very well have been the case. Dahui invokes Kewen a number of times in his attacks on silent illumination, and it seems clear that Dahui thought that some of Kewen's remarks were meant to target the Caodong tradition. In Kewen's extant recorded sayings, Kewen criticizes what he terms "no-matter Chan" (*wushi chan*). Tsuchiya Taiyū has recently argued, mostly based on remarks by Dahui and Huihong, that Kewen was targeting Donglin Changzong, a fellow disciple of Kewen's under Huanglong Huinan whom Dahui also criticized.[109] This seems quite probable. There are indications, however, that Kewen also targeted the emerging Caodong tradition, and his contemporary Daokai in particular. In one sermon, Kewen said: "Recently, many people go for stillness and annihilation of body and mind, cutting off before and after. They make it the highest goal to practice 'one thought lasts ten thousand years,' 'cease,' 'rest,' 'like an incense pot in an old shrine,' and 'cool and low-lying.' They are completely unaware that they are in fact being obstructed and obscured by these 'wondrous' mental states."[110] In this passage, Kewen quotes several of Shishuang Qingzhu's maxims in an attack on those who practice "stillness," just as Dahui later did. The same sermon by Keqin is included in a special section of the *Pudeng lu,* where it is followed immediately by Daokai's piece on monasticism.[111] Although Daokai does not use any of Qingzhu's maxims here, he refers to Qingzhu and his "dry wood hall" as an example to be emulated; he tells his audience to develop the mind of "no matter" (*wushi*), the exact expression Kewen used to attack those with a passive attitude to enlightenment; and he uses several other expressions associated with silent illumination. The juxtaposition of Kewen's sermons with Daokai's writing suggests that the editor of the *Pudeng lu* saw the two as presenting alternative views.

Elsewhere, Kewen writes: "Shishuang Puhui [Qingzhu] said: 'Go rest, go cease, be cold and somber.' This is the pleasant nirvanic state of the two [inferior] vehicles [of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas]."[112] Here again, Kewen criticizes the very expressions that Daokai uses to describe his central approach to practice, and he claims that they lead only to the attainment of the inferior goals of the Hinayanists and the Pratyekabuddhas. Given Daokai's fame, it is unlikely that Kewen could have been unaware of Daokai's

use of Shishuang's seven maxims. Furthermore, Kewen's recorded sayings include a passage in which Kewen praises Dongshan Liangjie and then goes on to list the various ways in which Liangjie was misunderstood, among which is that Liangjie only wanted people to "rest and cease"—again the vocabulary used by Daokai and the rest of the new Caodong tradition.[113]

Finally, several sources include a letter Kewen wrote to the official Zhu Yan (d.u., *jinshi* degree 1076; a.k.a. Zhu Shiying).[114] In this letter, Kewen warns Zhu against those who do not uphold the distinction between delusion and enlightenment and who themselves are not enlightened—the same criticism that Dahui later leveled against the new Caodong tradition, at one point citing Kewen's letter.[115] Zhu Yan had many connections among Chan monks, and though there is no evidence of his having been associated directly with Daokai or any other Caodong figure, he is the person who according to Huihong obtained the "Baojing sanmei" (Jewel mirror samādhi) for him, a lyrical poem celebrating inherent Buddha-nature.[116] As I will discuss in the following chapter, the "Baojing sanmei" is almost certainly a product of the new Caodong tradition, and Zhu's association with this text strongly suggests that he had a significant interest in the new Caodong tradition and had interacted with some of its members. Thus, the extant evidence indicates that it is very likely that Kewen indeed meant to target Daokai and the new Caodong tradition with his attacks on *wushi* Chan and Chan masters who did not take enlightenment seriously, just as Dahui seems to have assumed and as was stated by Tanji Hongren.

Dahui's teacher and Kewen's contemporary Yuanwu Keqin also seems to have directed criticisms against Caodong silent illumination, although they were never alluded to by Dahui. In several sources, Keqin seems critical of the implications of such favorite Caodong expression as "before the empty eon" and "before the primordial Buddha." The most directly critical statement is found in his *Foguo Keqin xinyao:* "The Way is miraculous and exceedingly easy and simple. How true are those words. People who have not reached its source think it is completely remote and hidden [and talk about it as something] before the empty eon or when the primordial chaos still had not divided and heaven and earth had not yet been established. [They think of it as] the hidden depths of the heavens or something at an unreachable distance, that cannot be comprehended or investigated or examined, and which only sages can awaken to and understand. For that reason they revere the words [of the ancient sages], but they cannot understand their essential meaning. How can we talk to them about this matter?"[117] It seems very possible that Keqin in this passage refers to the teachers of the new Caodong tradition. However, as I shall discuss in the next chapter, Keqin at times himself expounded teachings that seem to come close to those of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition. This does not mean, of course, that Keqin himself did not see a distinct difference.

Tanji Hongren also claimed that Wuzu Fayan, the master of Yuanwu Keqin, was a critic of silent illumination. This was also suggested in the 1280

preface to the recorded sayings of the Yuan-dynasty Linji master Pingshi Rudi (d.u.).[118] In the case of Wuzu, however, the extant records do not contain any obvious attacks on silent illumination or the Caodong tradition, and Dahui never suggests that Wuzu made such attacks. It is possible that Dahui's claim that Wuzu advocated a kind of kanhua Chan using the gongan about Zhouzhou's dog led some people to assume that Wuzu had also criticized silent illumination.

Challenges to the Caodong Lineage

In addition to criticism of its silent illumination teachings, it seems there were also some efforts in the Song to challenge the lineage that the Caodong tradition claimed for itself. As we have seen, the revived Caodong tradition went through considerable pains to construct a suitable lineage with illustrious hagiographies. It would appear that the new Caodong tradition was particularly vulnerable on the issue of Dayang Jingxuan's indirect transmission to Touzi Yiqing. There is no doubt there were some attacks on the new Caodong tradition that called into question the validity of the transmission, as witnessed by Fan Yu, who remarked in his inscription on Baoen: "Common people say that Yiqing did not receive [the transmission] personally. They do not understand that the saintly does not have before or after and that the transmission lies in the meeting of minds."[119] However, I have found no direct criticism of Yiqing's transmission by Song writers, and when the transmission is mentioned in Song Chan sources, the tone is usually approving. This may partly have been because the notion that someone might become the heir of a master that he had never met was generally recognized as a possibility in Song Chan. In the *Linjian lu,* Huihong points out that Yiqing's transmission was just as valid as that of Qianfu Chenggu (d. 1145), for example, who was enlightened when reading an encounter dialogue involving Yunmen Wenyan and who subsequently became recognized as Yunmen's dharma heir.[120] Interestingly, Yiqing himself had a posthumous heir, Puxian Biao (d.u.), who had studied with Daokai's disciple Kumu Facheng but became an heir of Yiqing because he was enlightened while reading Yiqing's recorded sayings.[121] Dayang's unusual transmission to Yiqing therefore does not seem to have posed much of a problem for the Caodong tradition, as is also indicated by the simple fact that there were no attempts within the Caodong tradition to come up with a better story.

However, the Caodong lineage was attacked in another way, through a challenge to the lineage descending from Shitou Xiqian (700–790), thought to be the only disciple of Huineng's shadowy heir Qingyuan Xingsi. One of the principal disciples of Shitou was Yaoshan Weiyan (745–828 or 751–834), who was considered the master of Dongshan Liangjie's master, Yunyan Tansheng (ca. 780–841), and thus an important ancestor to the Caodong lineage. In the Song, a story was told of how Yaoshan had actually experienced great enlightenment under Mazu Daoyi, not under Shitou. According to the story, Yaoshan Weiyan first went to see Shitou but failed to gain any insight,

and Shitou then sent him on to Mazu. After his enlightenment experience under Mazu, Yaoshan stayed with Mazu for another three years before returning to Shitou. The implication was that the Caodong tradition really came down from Mazu; since Mazu was especially associated with the Linji tradition, this effectively relegated the Caodong tradition to the status of a Linji sublineage.

It seems the story was based on a funerary inscription for Yaoshan Weiyan that was included in the *Tangwen cui* (Essential Tang prose), which was completed in 1011 by the scholar Yao Xuan (968–1020).[122] It is uncertain whether the inscription is genuine, but I have found no references to the story in Chan literature earlier than the recorded sayings of Yuanwu Keqin.[123] The story was also picked up by Dahui, who seems to have been fond of it; it is mentioned twice in his extant recorded sayings.[124] It was further included in two Song transmission histories, the *Liandeng huiyao* from 1183[125] and the *Wudeng huiyuan* from 1252,[126] both of which nevertheless list Yaoshan as the heir of Shitou. The story thus seems to have become widely accepted. I know of no Caodong response to the claims about Yaoshan, but they must have been seen as a not-so-subtle attempt to undermine the Caodong tradition's claim to independence and authority.

Another challenge to the Chan lineage as it had been established in the Northern Song only indirectly concerned the Caodong tradition. This challenge concerned Tianhuang Daowu (748–807), who was considered the other main disciple of Shitou Xiqian. Through his second-generation descendant, Xuefeng Yicun, Daowu became an ancestor to both the Yunmen and the Fayan traditions.[127] But the 988 *Song gaoseng zhuan* states that Daowu was enlightened under the Northern Chan figure Jingshan Faqin (714–792),[128] later spent several years with Mazu Daoyi, and only then went to Shitou.[129] The 952 *Zutang ji* does not mention either Jingshan Faqin or Mazu in connection with Daowu, but the *Chuandeng lu* mentions that Daowu met both these masters, while it makes clear that it was under Shitou that Daowu experienced great enlightenment. Perhaps this connection between Daowu and Mazu gave rise to the notion that Daowu really was the disciple of Mazu. This idea seems to have first been advanced in a no-longer-extant work, the *Wujia zongpai,* compiled by the Linji master Daguan Tanying.[130] Tanying's ideas can be inferred from summaries in Huihong's *Linjian lu* from 1107[131] and the preface to a revised edition of the *Wujia zongpai* included in the 1188 *Rentian yanmu* (Eyes of humans and gods).[132] It appears that Tanying argued, based on a probably spurious funerary inscription, that there were two Chan masters named Daowu, one who was a disciple of Shitou called Tianhuang Daowu and another called Tianwang Daowu (738–819) who was an heir to Mazu. Tanying claimed that the Daowu who was an heir to Shitou only had a few disciples and that his lineage quickly died out, while the Daowu who was Mazu's heir became the ancestor to the Yunmen and Fayan traditions. This would mean that, with the exception of the Caodong tradition, all the other Chan traditions came down from Mazu.[133]

This revision of the Chan lineage seems to have been taken seriously by

many in the Song. In the 1108 *Zuting shiyuan* (Anecdotes from the patriarchs' halls) by Muan Shanqing (active 1088–1108), Muan quotes the inscription, in which it is claimed that Daowu was a disciple of Mazu, and he fully accepts it but, interestingly, makes no reference to Tanying.[134] The *Rentian yanmu* only reproduces the preface to the revised edition of the *Wujia zongpai* and does not explicitly endorse its views. The fact that a second edition of the *Wujia zongpai* was published, however, shows that there must have been a fair amount of interest in it. The preface to the *Wujia zongpai* found in the *Rentian yanmu* states that the statesman Zhang Shangying supported the notion that there were two masters called Daowu, an interesting claim that I will return to in the next chapter. Huihong seems to have endorsed Tanying's version of the lineage in his *Linjian lu,*[135] but in the preface to his later *Sengbao zhuan* (1124), he is quoted as reiterating the orthodox understanding of the Chan lineages while criticizing Tanying not for his challenge to the lineage, which is unmentioned, but for not including biographical information in his work.[136] This attempt at changing the until-then established lineage most directly affected the Yunmen tradition, which in this scheme came to be seen as a sublineage to the Linji tradition, just as the Caodong tradition did in the scheme discussed above. However, this latter rewriting of Chan transmission history might also be considered to have been part of an effort to isolate the Caodong lineage as the only Chan lineage that did not descend from the great enlightenment tradition of Mazu.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Dahui meant to target the entire new Caodong tradition with his attacks on silent illumination and that he even tried to discredit its lineage by telling the story about Yaoshan's enlightenment under Mazu. But the story was told earlier by Yuanwu Keqin, and there is evidence that both Keqin and Zhenjing Kewen may also have attacked the silent illumination teachings of Furong Daokai and other members of the new Caodong tradition (although without using the term). Furthermore, although it cannot be verified, sources claim that Yuanwu Keqin's master, Wuzu Fayan, was a critic of silent illumination two generations before Dahui. It thus seems clear that Dahui was not the first Linji master to feel uncomfortable with the successes and teachings of the revived Caodong tradition.

Even if other, and earlier, Linji masters attacked silent illumination and the new Caodong tradition, however, Dahui's attacks ushered in a whole new era in the relations between the different Chan traditions. With his fierce attacks on the Caodong tradition, Dahui was the first to break the code of harmony that the Chan school had been able to maintain throughout the earlier part of the Song. This surely was noted across Song-dynasty elite society, and many literati and officials may have felt uncomfortable with it. It seems quite possible that when Qingliao, by imperial order, was appointed to the abbacy at Jingshan vacated a few years earlier by the exiled

Dahui, it was intended as a signal to the Chan monastic community to keep internal strife in check.

Although Dahui's vocal criticisms of forms of Chan that he disagreed with may well have been a factor that contributed to his being sent into exile, his attacks, especially those on silent illumination, also greatly contributed to his fame and, together with his advocacy of kanhua Chan, had an enormous influence on later ages. Much scholarship, both traditional and modern, has been devoted to Dahui's teachings, often more or less adopting Dahui's viewpoint. But few scholars have looked at the teachings of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition in any detail or tried to determine the extent to which the attacks by Dahui and others reflected actual Caodong doctrine. These issues will be addressed in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER 7
Silent Illumination and the Caodong Tradition

In the previous chapter, I argued that Dahui meant to target the entire new Caodong tradition of the twelfth century, including Hongzhi Zhengjue, with his attacks on silent illumination. There are also strong indications that before Dahui, Zhenjing Kewen, too, criticized the teachings of the new Caodong tradition, and Yuanwu Keqin and others may have done so as well. But a remaining important issue is whether the revived Caodong tradition did in fact teach something that might reasonably be called "silent illumination" and whether Dahui and other critics depicted its teachings accurately. In this chapter, I shall discuss the teachings of Hongzhi, Qingliao, and the other Caodong masters in their generation, arguing that the members of the Caodong tradition contemporary to Dahui did in fact teach an approach to Chan practice that is recognizable in Dahui's criticism of silent illumination, though Dahui distorts it. I shall then trace the Caodong silent illumination teachings back to their origin. Finally, I will seek to show that the silent illumination teachings of the Caodong tradition in themselves were quite orthodox and that many other Chan masters, even in the twelfth century, were expounding similar teachings. What made the Caodong teachings unique was their emphasis and style rather than their content.

There is little doubt that the new Caodong tradition was able to succeed partly because its teachings of silent illumination appealed to members of the literati. The revived (or rather reinvented) Caodong tradition was able to tap into an increased interest in Buddhist practice among the educated elite and attract a number of literati with its silent illumination teachings. This must have been perceived as very disruptive by the other, longer-established traditions of Chan, especially the dominant Linji tradition, and I will argue that it stimulated Dahui's attacks on the Caodong teachings as well as his development of kanhua Chan.[1]

Hongzhi and Silent Illumination

Hongzhi Zhengjue's extant recorded sayings and writings are far more extensive than those of any other Caodong figure, and a fairly complete picture of his teachings can therefore be formed. We are especially fortunate

in that a Song edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings has been preserved in Japan. This edition contains several prefaces and postscripts that suggest that much of the material in the Song edition was first published in Hongzhi's own lifetime, and these help to establish a chronology of his writings and sermons.[2] The Song edition was ultimately the basis for the edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings included in the modern Taishō canon; however, the material has been completely rearranged in it, some material is missing, and a number of characters are misprinted.[3] Research on Hongzhi's thought must therefore be based on the Song edition; since it is not readily available, however, I shall refer to both editions in the discussion that follows. Hongzhi's thought and particular style, as we can access them through the *Hongzhi lu,* seem to have been very consistent throughout his career, and I will therefore treat his teachings as an integrated whole in the following analysis.

The most famous text associated with silent illumination is Hongzhi's long poem, the "Mozhao ming." This poem contains the only instance in all of Caodong literature in which the term "silent illumination" is prominently used. The "Mozhao ming" has been understood as a kind of manifesto of Caodong silent illumination, for in it Hongzhi, in characteristic lyrical fashion, seems to set down his position on meditation and enlightenment. In the past, scholars have considered the "Mozhao ming" to be Hongzhi's answer to Dahui's criticism of silent illumination,[4] and in the Taishō edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings, the "Mozhao ming" is placed toward the end.[5] In the Song edition, however, the "Mozhao ming" appears in the first section, which contains material from the earliest part of Hongzhi's career and has a preface dated 1131.[6] The editors of the Song edition, at least, must have thought of the poem as belonging to Hongzhi's early period, before Dahui began his attacks on silent illumination in 1134.

The "Mozhao ming" is translated below (leaving out several stanzas in the middle):[7]

1 In complete silence words are forgotten,
total clarity appears before you.
When you reflect it, it is boundlessly vast,
and your body becomes numinous.

2 Numinous it is illuminated without relying on anything,
in illumination, you return to the transcendent [*miao*].
The dewy moon on the Milky Way,
the snow-clad pine on the cloudy peak.

3 In darkness it is even brighter,
when hidden it is all the more visible.
The crane dreams of misty frost,
the waters contain the distant autumn.

4 The endless eons are completely empty,
all things are exactly the same.
Transcendent wisdom [*miao*] exists in a place of silence,
striving for achievement is forgotten in illumination.

5 Where does transcendent wisdom exist?
Alertly we destroy murkiness.
The path of silent illumination
is the basis for leaving the world of delusion.

[. . .]

10 All the myriad things in the universe
emit radiance and speak the dharma.
They all attest to each other
and individually correspond in dialogue.

11 Corresponding in dialogue and attesting,
they respond to each other perfectly.
But if in illumination silence is lost,
then aggressiveness will appear.

12 Attesting and corresponding in dialogue,
perfectly they respond to each other.
But if in silence illumination is lost,
then you will become turbid and leave behind the dharma.

13 When "silence" and "illumination" both are operating and complete,
the lotus flower opens and the dreamer awakens.
The hundred rivers flow into the sea,
and the thousand peaks face the great mountain.

14 Like geese preferring milk,
like bees seeking out flowers,
when silent illumination is perfected and obtained,
the teaching of our tradition [*zong*] is set in motion.

15 Our tradition's teaching of silent illumination
penetrates to the highest peak and the deepest deep.
Our bodies are emptiness [śūnyatā],
our arms form the *mudrā* [sacred hand gesture].

16 Beginning and end are parts of the one principle,
through transformation they become the ten thousand differences.
Mr. He offered jade,
Xiangru pointed out its flaws.[8]

17 The different Buddhist teachings are all on the same level,
the marvelous function [of skillful means] has no need to strive.
An emperor dwells within the palace walls,
while a general stays outside the fortifications.

18 The teachings of our tradition
are on mark and hit right in the center.
Transmit it out in all directions,
make no delay in expounding it.[9]

The "Mozhao ming" beautifully exemplifies the intense poetic style of Hongzhi. Drawing on a kind of cosmic nature imagery, in much of the poem Hongzhi invites his readers to celebrate with him the wondrous quality of the realm of enlightenment. At the same time, the poem is clearly about meditative experience and can be read as both a description of and instruction in sitting meditation. The first stanza succinctly sums up the kind of meditation Hongzhi advocated: "In complete silence words are forgotten/total clarity appears before you." While sitting quietly in meditation and leaving behind all conceptual thinking, total clarity will simply manifest itself, Hongzhi assures us. Furthermore, as the meditator, mirror-like, reflects this clarity, his whole being becomes one with the entire universe and merges into the realm of enlightenment. The meditator thus will be in a state of awakening and will have no thought of trying to achieve an enlightenment experience.

Hongzhi appears here to describe exactly the kind of meditation that Dahui criticized. In it, there is no striving for enlightenment as a breakthrough experience, just as Dahui charged: indeed, the goal is to leave behind any thought of achievement. Hongzhi emphasizes the enlightenment inherent in all people and maintains that it will manifest itself if one simply sits silently in meditation. On the other hand, having described the wonderful state of sitting absorbed in the realm of enlightenment, Hongzhi also points out (stanza 5) that it is not a dumb and unthinking mode of mind. Although there is to be no striving for an enlightenment experience, one must be alert in the practice of meditation and avoid falling into a murky and unthinking state of mind. One must strive to leave the world of delusion, and the practice of silent illumination is the way to do so.

From stanza 10 onward, Hongzhi emphasizes the interrelatedness of all phenomena. One should not try to shut out the world, he says, but rather become one with the whole universe in meditation. Any one-sided clinging will destroy the balance. Therefore, if one only pursues illumination, meaning enlightenment, and does not practice still meditation, one will have succumbed to a form of craving. This caution seems to be a reference to teachings such as those advocated by Dahui, which strongly emphasized the need to attain a moment of awakening. On the other hand, Hongzhi states, if in silent meditation there is no quality of enlightenment present, then one will be stuck in a dumb and turbid state of mind. But when the meditator is

able to manifest his inherent Buddha-nature in silent meditation, complete enlightenment will be present and the whole universe in harmony. Hongzhi goes on to state both that silent illumination encompasses all of the Buddhist teachings, reaching all of existence, and that it is fully expressed in the seated meditation posture, in which the practitioner's body itself becomes one with emptiness and his arms form the sacred *mudrā* (stanza 15).

Interestingly, Hongzhi seems implicitly to have been glossing silent illumination in terms of the classical Buddhist meditation technique of the dual cultivation of calming and insight, *śamatha-vipaśyanā,* or *zhiguan,* as it was known in China, most importantly through the writings of the Tiantai school founder, Zhiyi.[10] Hongzhi appears to equate silence (*mo*) with calming and illumination (*zhao*) with insight. But by stating that transcendent wisdom exists in silence, Hongzhi stresses the primary importance of the cultivation of calming and indicates that insight will appear spontaneously when the mind is calm.

It seems almost as if Hongzhi is describing enlightenment as an event in time when he says in stanza 13, "the lotus flower opens and the dreamer awakens." But while he perhaps hints at the possibility of enlightenment as a temporal experience, Hongzhi clearly downplays enlightenment as a shattering event and seems to suggest even that the concept of a breakthrough enlightenment is a hindrance. What really matters is the inherently enlightened quality of mind. Silent illumination is the natural state, the uncorrupted mind. It is like the rivers that naturally flow toward the sea or the bees that are naturally attracted to flowers.

It might therefore seem that little needs to be done to attain enlightenment. Far from advocating the heroic effort that Dahui deemed necessary, Hongzhi emphasizes that enlightenment is the natural and joyful state that is already fully present in us. In stanzas 14 and 15, he declares that silent illumination is the essential teaching of the Caodong tradition and presents it as being at the center of Caodong self-definition. At the end of the poem, Hongzhi exhorts his audience to go out and propagate the silent illumination teachings of the Caodong tradition, holding nothing back. This does seem like something of a battle cry for silent illumination, and it is not surprising that the "Mozhao ming" has been read as a manifesto for a silent illumination approach characteristic of the new Caodong tradition.

The approach to meditation and enlightenment that Hongzhi depicted in the "Mozhao ming" might reasonably be called "silent illumination," since he used the term himself and since it seems to adequately describe his emphasis on still meditation and inherent Buddha-nature. But in all of Hongzhi's recorded sayings and writings, the expression "silent illumination" occurs only a few times,[11] and it is not found in the record of any other Caodong master. It is possible that the term "silent illumination" was used much more widely in the Caodong tradition than the extant sources would lead us to believe. Dahui was largely successful in discrediting the term and in giving it a strongly negative connotation, and perhaps later edi-

tors and compilers edited it out of the Caodong material. It is also possible that Hongzhi and other Caodong masters simply discontinued the use of the term after Dahui began his attacks.[12] In any case, Hongzhi's teachings very strongly emphasized the originally enlightened nature of all sentient beings, and Dahui's contention that the silent illumination of the revived Caodong tradition deemphasized enlightenment seems to be borne out in Hongzhi's writings and sermons.

Hongzhi's teaching drew on the Chinese Buddhist understanding of tathāgatagarbha as inherent Buddha-nature that, as discussed earlier, was the underpinning of all of Song Chan. To Hongzhi, this was the one all-important Buddhist teaching, and in his sayings and writings he emphasized it again and again. In his earliest recorded sermon, which dates to the time when he was still serving at Changlu under Qingliao, Hongzhi said about the Buddha-mind that all beings possess: "It cannot be named, and it cannot be given form. From the beginning, it is pure and clean and has not been defiled. From the beginning, it is by itself complete and perfect, and there is no need to trouble about practice and enlightenment."[13] Since sentient beings have always been Buddhas, in a very real sense nothing needs to be done. Enlightenment is already ours, as we have never been separated from it. Buddha-nature is manifest in every function of our bodies and minds and actually is these functions themselves. In a sermon delivered years later, when he was the abbot at Tiantong, Hongzhi expressed it in this way: "How can you not see the Way? In the eyes, it is called seeing; in the ears, it is called hearing; in the nose, it is smelling; in the tongue, it is talking; in the hands, it is grasping; and in the feet, it is running. Those who know call it 'Buddha-nature,' and those who do not know call it 'the spirit.'[14] If you try to reason about it or divide it up, then you are swept right into karmic consciousness. Therefore, the Changsha monk said: 'Those who study the Way do not awaken to the truth.'"[15]

So the Buddha-nature is right here with us. Any attempt to analyze it will just obscure it, and in trying to grasp it, one only becomes further embroiled in delusion. Therefore, those who try to study it will not be able to understand it. It follows, of course, that it is of no use to search for the Buddha outside of oneself: "The realm of enlightenment [*zhengchu*] of all the Buddhas and patriarchs is the same as that of you monks. If you have a head full of Buddhas and patriarchs, how will you ever get to see what is your own? But if you see what is your own, at that time there cannot be any Buddhas, patriarchs, other people or dharma established. . . . The patriarch is not another person [separate from yourself,] and the Buddha is miraculous, pure awakening."[16]

Hongzhi often used poetic language to describe the enlightened state of mind that everybody possesses. In one of his earliest recorded sermons, he said: "Good and worthy Chan students! Vast and wondrous, the fundamental radiance is by itself illuminating. Still and responding [to everything], the great function is manifest before you. The wooden horse neighs

in the wind, without moving a step in the present. The clay bull comes up from the sea and plows open the spring of the empty eon."[17] Such poetic phrases attempt to capture the essence of the enlightened quality of our Buddha-nature, which words ultimately cannot describe.

Hongzhi did not deny that most people seem far separated from the Buddha-nature that he claimed is their own. So about the problems that most of us seem to face, he said: "It is only that you cannot let go. You yourself build walls between the worlds and then see a difference between yourself and others. It is you yourself who are obstructing the three realms;[18] how could the three realms ever obstruct you? If you do not create obstructions yourself, then this [very existence of yours] will be the all-embracing body and the all-embracing mind."[19] But how does one stop oneself from creating obstructions and obscuring one's Buddha-nature? Hongzhi answered this question by strongly advocating meditation, or quiet-sitting. It is clear from the "Mozhao ming" and Hongzhi's sermons that he considered silent illumination to be almost synonymous with the practice of sitting meditation, which he saw as essential to realizing one's inherent Buddha-nature.

No explicit meditation instructions are found in Hongzhi's writings or sayings or in those of any of the other twelfth-century Caodong masters, a lack that is typical of the Song Chan school in general.[20] But while Hongzhi did not often mention meditation directly, much in his sermons and writings can be understood as instruction or encouragement to meditators. Hongzhi said in a sermon, for example, "If a person wishes to enter the Buddha realm, he should purify his mind [*yi*] so it becomes as if vacuous and empty, and leave far behind the various phenomena and graspings. He should cause his mind, whatever direction it goes, to be without obstructions. Can you be like this in your everyday practice? If you are able to respond in this way, then the moon and the water will face each other calmly, and the wind in the pines will be clear and never-ending."[21] Meditating in this way, one could experience the boundlessness of one's original mind, which is identical to the mind of all the Buddhas.

There is much evidence that Hongzhi and other masters in the new Caodong tradition strongly emphasized long hours of sitting meditation. In the "Sengtang ji" (Record of the monks' hall), a text composed in 1132 in celebration of a newly constructed monks' hall at Tiantong, Hongzhi wrote about the new building: "It is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. In the mornings, there is incense, and in the evening lamps. [The monks] open their bowls and eat, and wash their feet and sit. I till and shepherd among them and admonish them to practice stillness [*ji*]."[22] "Silence" (*mo*), "stillness," and other similar terms seem often to have referred to meditation in Hongzhi's usage, as no doubt is the case in this passage. Hongzhi also frequently referred to the practice of the first patriarch of Chan in China, Bodhidharma, who is said to have sat in meditation for nine years engaged in "wall contemplation." Bodhidharma's example is clearly employed to justify the advocacy of prolonged meditation and to assert its orthodoxy, and often Hongzhi simply referred to meditation as "facing a wall."[23]

Other people noted Hongzhi's emphasis on meditation. In the preface to a collection of sermons by Hongzhi dated 1137, Feng Wenshu writes: "The master instructs the congregation to practice stillness and to sit erect like withered trees."[24] In the biography of Hongzhi by Wang Boxiang, Wang tells of a visit he made to Tiantong in 1138 and notes that those who had come to study with Hongzhi "sit silently on the meditation platforms, and no one makes a sound or coughs."[25]

In his sermons, Hongzhi often seems to have emphasized that meditation should be engaged in for long hours at a time. "[You should engage] in the great rest and the great cessation so that white mold starts growing at the corners of your mouth and grass growing out on your tongue; in this way, you become completely emptied out, washed sparkling clean, polished to a bright shine."[26] The imagery here of white mold growing at the mouth brings to mind a corpse; Hongzhi, in fact, employed this image a number of times. This kind of description would seem to confirm Dahui's worst fears and support his accusations that the Caodong silent illumination style of meditation was a passive, quietistic, and thought-suppressing practice. Based on a passage like this, Hongzhi could well be understood as having advocated a pure quietism, or total inaction.

But as the "Mozhao ming" makes clear, Hongzhi did also acknowledge that some kind of effort in meditation is needed and that although we all are enlightened from the beginning, some kind of awakening to this fact is necessary. At times, Hongzhi also stressed the investigative effort involved in meditation: "With a clear mind, sitting silently, you roam into subtle [emptiness] at the center of the circle. It is necessary to probe and investigate in this way."[27] And, further, "The realm of true activity is just quiet-sitting and silent investigation."[28] And just as Hongzhi was clearly aware of the dangers of sitting with an empty mind, he also warned against the idea that the mind is something to be got rid of. Thus, he said: "The myriad dharmas all originate as shadows of deluded thinking in the mind. It is like clear water that the wind causes to become waves. When only the wind is extinguished, the movements will disappear, and it is not that the water is annihilated. In your minds, there exist many concepts of good and bad and so on. They are just like the waves on the water. When the wind stops, the waves disappear, but not the water. [Likewise], when the concepts of good and bad are extinguished, it is not the mind that is annihilated."[29] Water and waves as metaphors for the mind and its activity are often found in Chan writings. Interestingly, Hongzhi here seems to have drawn upon the *Qixin lun,* the apocryphal treatise that Dahui also used to justify his insistence on an actualized enlightenment.[30] This passage is perhaps as close as Hongzhi ever came to speaking in his own defense or in response to criticism.

Hongzhi very rarely talked about enlightenment as an experience that occurs at a single moment in time, and he never depicted it as a shattering and decisive sudden event. But on occasion, Hongzhi did stress the need for the transformation of enlightenment. In the following passage, a sense of urgency almost similar to that of Dahui comes across: "In this mat-

ter of practicing Chan, it is absolutely necessary that you liberate yourself from [the worldly realm of] birth and death. If you do not liberate yourself from birth and death, how can this be called 'Chan'? Therefore I say: [You should ask yourself,] 'How about birth? How about death? How about liberation?'"[31] Thus, far from advocating that the mind should be a complete blank, Hongzhi did teach that some kind of effort in meditation is needed, and he warned against the danger of falling into a one-sided stillness. A quality of enlightenment must be cultivated in meditation. This passage from a *fayu* sermon seems to sum up Hongzhi's position:

> Completely silently be at ease. In true thusness, separate yourself from all causes and conditions. Brightly luminous without defilements, you directly penetrate and are liberated. You have from the beginning been in this place; it is not something that is new to you today. From the time before the vast eon when you dwelled in your old [original] home, everything is completely clear and unobscured and numinous and singularly bright. But although this is the case, it is necessary that you act on it. When you act on it in this way, you must not give rise to the smallest strand of hair and not conceal a speck of dust. Cold and like dry wood, [you should practice] the great rest with broad and penetrating comprehension [*kuoche mingbai*]. If your rest and cessation is not complete and you wish to go to the realm [of the Buddha] and to leave birth and death, then [you should know] there is no such place. Just as you are, you must break through, understanding without the defilement of discursive thinking, and be pure without any worries.[32]

Hongzhi here makes it clear that although we are originally enlightened, it is necessary that we act on and actualize it. The way to actualize enlightenment, however, is not to strive for an enlightenment experience but to completely give up all discursive thought processes. One must put everything down and sit in still meditation like a piece of dry wood, cultivating a "broad and penetrating comprehension" rather than a state of mind in which all mental activity is simply gone. Only then may one be liberated. This is Hongzhi's silent illumination.

Like other Song Chan masters, Hongzhi used gongan extensively in his teachings. Many of Hongzhi's sermons consist of his raising a gongan case and then commenting on it, in a manner that was common to all of Song Chan. Although Hongzhi's comments often incorporate vocabulary associated with silent illumination, most of them do not differ appreciably from the kind of comments Song Chan masters from other traditions made. In addition to using gongan in his sermons, Hongzhi compiled two collections of one hundred gongan with his own comments, one in prose (*niangu*) and one in poetry (*songgu*).[33] It is clear that Hongzhi highly valued gongan as a pedagogic device. In fact, the following passage seems to suggest that Hongzhi at times promoted a kind of intense reflection centering on the gongan, almost bordering on the kanhua Chan approach Dahui advocated: "If you have even a little Buddhist theory, then all kinds of concepts, illu-

sions, and mixed-up thoughts will be produced in profusion. The gongan is manifest right here before you. Penetrate it to the root; penetrate it to the source."[34]

Still, on balance, Dahui's depiction of silent illumination is quite recognizable in Hongzhi's teachings. Hongzhi did teach his students to sit in long hours of meditation. The meditation he taught emphasized stillness and letting go of mental activity, and he strongly stressed the inherent enlightened nature of all beings while de-emphasizing the necessity of a moment of a shattering enlightenment. Dahui accused Hongzhi of teaching that enlightenment was the "branches and leaves."[35] It seems that Hongzhi did in fact use this image to emphasize the primacy of the inherently enlightened state in which humans already dwell. Thus, in a written sermon, Hongzhi stated poetically:

> Dry and cold body and mind,
> washed and polished field and ground.
> The dusts are completely purified,
> and the entire realm empty and bright.
> The moon on the water, its rays in the clearing sky,
> the cloudy mountain has the color of autumn.
> Brightly green and the darkest dark,
> deep and profound, it is utterly numinous.
> The naturally illuminated root,
> it does not follow the leaves and branches.[36]

Like so many of Hongzhi's writings, this is a poetic description of the enlightened mind as realized in a state of meditation, as the beginning of it shows. In the last line, Hongzhi mentions the "naturally illuminated root," which clearly refers to the inherent enlightenment of all beings, and he asserts its independence from the "leaves and branches." The "leaves and branches" seem to refer to the moment of enlightenment that Dahui so passionately insisted on, and so Hongzhi was directly implying that such a moment is of only secondary importance.

But Hongzhi also emphasized that inherent enlightenment must be actualized through an alert and investigative effort in meditation, and he does seem to have stressed that some kind of personal transformation should take place through the practice of silent illumination. After all, Hongzhi's own biography describes him experiencing enlightenment in dialogue with Danxia Zichun, and in his epitaph for Qingliao, Hongzhi made a point of telling the story of Qingliao's "great enlightenment."[37]

Qingliao and Silent Illumination

No other Caodong figure has a collection of recorded sayings as extensive as that of Hongzhi; indeed, few Chan masters from any period do. In comparison to Hongzhi, the material on Qingliao's thought is very scant; still, several

sources are available.[38] Not surprisingly, given that Qingliao was a major target of Dahui's criticism, clear traces of a silent illumination approach much like that of Hongzhi can be found in Qingliao's extant sermons and writings. Thus, in a sermon that probably dates to his time at Changlu, several years before he went to Fujian, Qingliao says: "Without taking a step you should constantly sit in your room and just forget about the teachings. Be like dry wood, or a stone, or a wall, or a piece of tile, or a pebble. Cut off knowing and understanding and be naturally vacuous [*xu*] and completely bright. You should not make the least bit of conscious effort."[39] This passage clearly advocates a form of silent meditation: the meditator is instructed to be like an inanimate object and is seemingly encouraged to cease all mental activity. It is noteworthy that Qingliao mentions "sitting in your room." It seems he may have been directing himself to a lay audience, since the monks who practiced meditation in a monastery did not have individual rooms (except for those holding high office), but lived and slept in the monks' hall.

In another passage that is probably from Changlu, the following record is found: "[Qingliao] ascended the hall and said: 'If you can practice so that white mold starts growing at the corners of your mouth, then you will have first entered the door. When you get to a point when your whole body is red and rotten, then you must know what it is that does not go out the door.' He paused a long time, then said: 'What is the door?'"[40] This passage is very similar to the one in which Hongzhi used the imagery of white mold growing around the mouth. Qingliao's reference to the rotten body here even more strongly suggests a corpselike condition. It is clearly meant to depict a kind of total absorption in meditation in which one forgets the self and the body. This passage hints that Qingliao may have gone even further than Hongzhi in emphasizing the total stillness of the body necessary in silent illumination meditation.

But like Hongzhi, Qingliao does not seem to have advocated a purely quietist approach to Buddhist meditation practice. In Qingliao's short entry in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* (Continued essential sayings by the old venerable masters), which probably contains material from his time at Xuefeng during the years 1130–1135, a *gāthā* is included describing Mahākāśyapa, the legendary first Indian patriarch of Chan. It begins: "Whether meditating or in times of turmoil, the true is his basis. Vast and clear is his wondrous [wisdom]. His words are silent and his actions untrammeled. In vacuity [*xu*], he does not lose illumination."[41] The last sentence seems to echo (or perhaps it is the other way around) the stanza from Hongzhi's "Mozhao ming" cited above: "But if in silence illumination is lost, then you will become turbid and leave behind the dharma." Like Hongzhi, Qingliao here warns that one must not fall into empty silence; the element of illumination, or transcendent wisdom, must always be present. In another sermon in his recorded sayings, Qingliao again made a point similar to Hongzhi's assertion that silence and illumination must be in perfect balance and that one must contain the other: "In the middle of activity, be constantly still; when in darkness, increase brightness. Don't fall into dualistic extremes."[42]

In the commentary to the *Xinxin ming* attributed to Qingliao, there are a number of statements that can be read as responses to Dahui's attacks on silent illumination. As noted in chapter 6, a postscript refers to Dahui's attacks and claims that this text was Qingliao's rebuttal. The text reiterates the necessity of totally still meditation,[43] but it also emphasizes that one must not fall into an unthinking state of mind.[44] The text also attacks those who take the gongan of the old masters and "lodge them in their stomachs."[45] Although there is some reason to doubt the authenticity of this work, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the text reflects Qingliao's own words. If so, the conflict between Dahui and the Caodong tradition may have been more explicit than other extant sources would lead us to believe.

In any event, Qingliao seems to have advocated a silent illumination approach to meditation and enlightenment very much like that of Hongzhi—although perhaps even more uncompromising. Qingliao's silent illumination approach is evident in the earliest records that are associated with him, well before he was attacked by Dahui in Fujian, and it seems to have continued through the rest of his career.

Silent Illumination and Other Caodong Masters of Hongzhi's Generation

Outside of the short quotations from sermons and other sources that are found in the transmission histories, no extant writings or recorded sayings remain from any Caodong masters of Hongzhi and Qingliao's generation other than these two. There is little indication in the transmission histories that any of the other Caodong masters in Hongzhi and Qingliao's generation taught silent illumination.[46] But it should be kept in mind that the transmission histories aimed to present the various Chan lineages as forming one harmonious, unified tradition, the whole of which was heir to the direct transmission of the Buddha. There was therefore a tendency toward standardization in the transmission histories, and polemics and teachings that could be deemed controversial would often have been excluded. Since silent illumination ended up being discredited, it is possible that strong expressions of it were deleted from the records in the transmission histories. This is also suggested by the fact that the entries on both Qingliao and Hongzhi in the transmission histories contain little of the vocabulary associated with silent illumination and do not emphasize quiet-sitting or the inherent Buddha-nature.[47]

Still, there are a few hints in existing sources that other Caodong masters in Hongzhi and Qingliao's generation practiced silent illumination. An heir to Chanti Weizhao, Zhenru Daohui (d.u.), told his audience to "return home and sit firmly" in a very short entry in the *Pudeng lu*.[48] This seems to indicate both that he was advocating meditation and that he was addressing laypeople with this remark, since it could hardly have been directed to the monks at his temple. Also, Zhitong Jingshen (1090–1152), another disciple of Weizhao, in his entry in the *Pudeng lu,* is said to have been called the "old

man of great death" (*dasi weng*) because he "inherited the way of his master."[49] As will be discussed below, his master, Weizhao, advocated a kind of silent illumination that emphasized the "great death." Finally, a number of the Caodong masters in Hongzhi's generation are recorded as having used the expressions "beyond the primordial Buddha," "the time before your parents were born," "before the empty eon," and so on.[50] As we have seen, these expressions became especially associated with the new Caodong tradition, for which they point to the inherently enlightened mind. The use of the expressions by these Caodong masters suggests that they, too, taught silent illumination.

It is possible now to define a Caodong silent illumination approach in Hongzhi's generation as one that placed strong emphasis on seated meditation whose object was to achieve a mental quietude that allowed the already perfect Buddha-nature that everyone inherently possesses to naturally manifest itself. It follows that Caodong silent illumination stressed the notion of inherent Buddha-nature and deemphasized enlightenment as a specific event in time and space. A certain vocabulary that denotes complete stillness and refers to the inherent Buddha-nature, as well as references to seated meditation otherwise rare in Chan Buddhist literature, can also be associated with Caodong silent illumination. However, Hongzhi's generation of the Caodong tradition did not completely reject the notion of enlightenment as a sudden occurrence: both Hongzhi and Qingliao stressed the need for effort and at least some kind of transformation in meditation. It is also noteworthy that extant biographies of members of the new Caodong tradition are usually careful to detail how their subjects attained enlightenment under their masters, just as is the case in biographies of masters from other Chan traditions.[51]

Silent Illumination in the Early Caodong Tradition

The question remains how far back we can date silent illumination in the Caodong tradition. In modern writings on the Chan school, it is commonly assumed that silent illumination thought was characteristic of the Caodong tradition right from its inception. The recent second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion* contains the following statement: "By the tenth century the Chan school was divided into two main branches, both of which had first appeared earlier, the Linji (in Japanese, Rinzai), emphasizing gongan practice and dramatic, spontaneous breakthroughs to enlightenment in the midst of everyday activities, and the Caodong (in Japanese, Sōtō), known for a more gradual approach through seated meditation, or *zuochan* (in Japanese, *zazen*)."[52] This passage implies both that a silent illumination approach was present from the beginning of the Caodong tradition and that this approach was "gradual," a characterization that appears to be indebted to later Japanese Rinzai polemics.[53] (Dahui did not associate silent illumination with gradualism.) Yanagida Seizan and other scholars have also

argued that Dongshan Liangjie did not emphasize enlightenment the way that other Chan masters did, clearly implying that Song Caodong silent illumination was a continuation of this earlier trend.[54]

In his analysis of the pedagogic styles found in Dongshan Liangjie's and Linji Yixuan's extant collections of recorded sayings, William Powell found that Liangjie tended "toward a relaxed play of unconventional ideas and wit while not departing entirely from conventional discourse," while Linji's style "can be characterized by its intensity and disruptiveness."[55] Powell also notes that Linji is often said to have used blows and physical gestures, while such behavior is not recorded for Liangjie.[56] However, it should be noted that Liangjie's recorded sayings, which were used by Powell, date back to the very late Ming dynasty (1636) and cannot be assumed to accurately reflect the thought of Liangjie eight hundred years earlier.[57] The common perception among modern scholars that Liangjie deemphasized enlightenment may have to do with the apparent lack of disruptive behavior found in his recorded sayings, but, more importantly, one detects a tendency to project twelfth-century silent illumination ideas (mostly as presented by Dahui) back to the beginnings of Caodong Chan.

To look for real evidence of a notion of silent illumination in the Caodong tradition prior to its revival in the twelfth century, one has to turn to the records in the Buddhist histories compiled before the twelfth century, since later sources (such as the recorded sayings of Liangjie used in Powell's analysis) could well have been influenced by the silent illumination approach associated with Hongzhi and his generation of the Caodong tradition. The main pre-twelfth-century Buddhist sources for the early Caodong masters, encompassing the whole tradition through Dayang Jingxuan, are the 952 *Zutang ji,*[58] the 988 *Song gaoseng zhuan,*[59] the 1009 *Chuandeng lu,*[60] and the 1036 *Guangdeng lu.*[61] These works all exist in early editions, and we can be reasonably certain that the records of the masters in the Caodong lineage they contain have not been subject to later alterations.[62]

The first three of the works mentioned above contain records of Dongshan Liangjie. In them, there is no indication whatsoever that Liangjie taught a silent illumination approach similar to that of Hongzhi or Qingliao or that he deemphasized enlightenment. In the records in the *Chuandeng lu* on Dongshan Liangjie and Linji Yixuan, both are said to have experienced "great enlightenment" (*dawu*) with their masters.[63] Furthermore, two of Liangjie's disciples are said to have been awakened in dialogue with him, while the same is not reported for any of Linji Yixuan's students.[64] None of the early entries on Liangjie point to a special emphasis on meditation. In fact, meditation is never explicitly mentioned, and Bodhidharma's nine years of wall contemplation are not invoked. None of the vocabulary that is associated with twelfth-century Caodong silent illumination is present, and there is no special emphasis on inherent Buddha-nature or any de-emphasis on the moment of enlightenment. Furthermore, as we have seen, one of the earliest examples of gongan contemplation is found in Liangjie's entry in

the *Chuandeng lu.* Thus, there is no evidence that Liangjie founded a tradition of Chan based on a silent illumination approach that differed from or was in opposition to a gongan-based approach by Linji Yixuan.

One text that is sometimes cited as evidence of a silent illumination approach in Liangjie's teachings is the famous "Baojing sanmei."[65] This beautiful poem does seem to be a celebration of the inherently enlightened nature of all sentient beings, and by holding up the Buddha's contemplation under the tree as a model, it can be understood to indirectly advocate a meditation in which this enlightened nature becomes apparent. The poem is commonly attributed to Dongshan Liangjie,[66] although just before the poem is cited in his recorded sayings it is said that Liangjie received it secretly from his master, Yunyan Tansheng.[67] The text of the "Baojing sanmei" is not found in any source prior to Huihong's *Sengbao zhuan,* however, nor is it mentioned in any earlier source.[68] Huihong includes the text of the "Baojing sanmei" in the entry on Caoshan Benji. In a note, he explains that the "Baojing sanmei" was originally given to Liangjie by Yunyan Tansheng but that Huihong suspects that Tansheng's teacher Yaoshan Weiyan was the actual author. Huihong further states that the "Baojing sanmei" was kept hidden by the early worthies and that it could not be found in earlier Chan collections. He then reports that in 1108, an unnamed old monk gave a copy of the "Baojing sanmei" to the literatus Zhu Yan, and eventually the text came into the hands of Huihong, who decided to disseminate it.[69] Unfortunately, the old monk cannot be identified, but given Huihong's explanation, it seems extremely doubtful that the text of the "Baojing sanmei" originated with Liangjie or his predecessors. Furthermore, the text is very different in style and character from the early Caodong records, and it clearly cannot be taken as evidence for the presence of a silent illumination approach in the early Caodong tradition. The inclusion of the "Baojing sanmei" in the *Sengbao zhuan* together with Huihong's attached remarks, however, does indicate that the "Baojing sanmei" circulated as a work of the early Caodong tradition by the beginning of the twelfth century.

A survey of the records of the pre-twelfth-century descendants in Liangjie's lineage in the sources listed above also fails to turn up any indication of a silent illumination approach. In the 1036 *Guangdeng lu,* however, there is a very interesting entry on Shimen Huiche (d.u.) that seems to be an exception to this pattern. Huiche was included in the *Chuandeng lu,* where he has a short and unremarkable entry.[70] But in the *Guangdeng lu,* Huiche is given a very long entry that employs several of the silent illumination expressions used in the twelfth-century Caodong tradition.[71] Here are references to Bodhidharma's wall contemplation, the expressions "beyond the primordial Buddha" and "rest and cease" are used several times, and much nature imagery is employed.[72] However, there are no clear references to meditation and no expressed de-emphasis of enlightenment. Still, in no other record of an early Caodong master can these expressions be found together, and this makes Huiche's entry in the *Guangdeng lu* unique.

Huiche's lineage is somewhat unclear. In the *Chuandeng lu,* he is listed as the heir of Shimen Xian (d.u.) in the second generation after Liangjie. But in the *Guangdeng lu,* he is said to have been the heir of Liangshan Yuanguan, who was the teacher of Dayang Jingxuan.[73] This would make Huiche the dharma brother of Jingxuan and close to the twelfth-century Chan lineage. It seems quite possible that Shimen Huiche's record in the *Guangdeng lu* was a source of inspiration and legitimacy for the twelfth-century Caodong tradition. It is also possible that his record reflects the beginning of a new vocabulary in the Caodong tradition, which perhaps started to take shape around the time of Dayang Jingxuan, although there is no indication that Jingxuan used it.

Like other Chan masters, the early Caodong masters did at times stress the inherent Buddha-nature in sentient beings, and especially in the records of the third-generation Caodong masters and later, one often finds extravagant nature imagery that appears to allude to this.[74] Very similar passages can be found in the records of masters in other Chan traditions, however.[75] Even if it could be argued that the silent illumination approach of the twelfth-century Caodong found inspiration in the sayings of earlier Caodong masters, it is hardly possible to maintain that silent illumination was an approach that characterized the Caodong tradition from its beginnings. There is no convincing evidence that there was a direct line of development from the teachings of the early Caodong masters to the silent illumination of Hongzhi and Qingliao.

One might argue that the lack of clear statements of silent illumination thought in the records of the early Caodong masters does not prove that it was not part of their teachings, as the records tend to be short and selective. Caodong masters could have been passing silent illumination ideas along, even if there is no record of it. Yet if silent illumination teachings were an important feature of the earlier Caodong tradition, it seems odd that this is not apparent in any of the Caodong records in the transmission histories, short as they often are. Even in later compilations, such as the *Rentian yanmu* from 1188, one does not find any clear evidence of silent illumination thought in the material attributed to the early Caodong figures.[76] This is actually somewhat surprising, because one might well expect to see silent illumination thought incorporated into the material on the early Caodong masters stemming from the period just after the Caodong revival. That this rarely seems to have been the case may have to do with the fact that silent illumination thought, as it culminated with Hongzhi and Qingliao, was quite short-lived, probably because it was quickly discredited by Dahui's eloquent attacks, which were widely known through his published recorded sayings and letters.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the texts that are often pointed to as inspirations for and precursors to silent illumination are not, with the exception of the "Baojing sanmei," attributed to anyone directly in the Caodong tradition.[77] These are texts like Sengcan's *Xinxin ming,*[78] Shitou

Xiqian's poem "Cantongqi" (Harmony of difference and sameness),[79] and Shishuang Qingzhu's seven maxims. Several of these texts were clearly influential in the new Caodong tradition, but they give no indication that there was a tradition of silent illumination within the early Caodong tradition. As the third patriarch of Chan, Sengcan was an ancestor in the lineages of all of Song Chan, while Shitou Xiqian was an early ancestor in the lineages of the Yunmen and Fayan traditions as well as in the Caodong tradition. Shishuang Qingzhu was a third-generation descendant of Shitou but was not in the ancestral lineage of the Caodong tradition; the transmission histories connect him to the Caodong tradition only through his "grandfather," Yaoshan Weiyan, who was also grandfather to Qingzhu's contemporary Dongshan Liangjie.

Silent Illumination in the New Caodong Tradition prior to Hongzhi's Generation

Having found no evidence of silent illumination in the records of the early Caodong masters up to and including Dayang Jingxuan, we next must turn to the person who received Jingxuan's transmission, Touzi Yiqing. Two collections of recorded sayings attributed to Yiqing are extant. One, which is very brief, can be discounted as a late Japanese forgery.[80] The other collection, the *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* can be traced in its present form only to a 1725 Japanese edition, but there are grounds to believe that much of it in essence represents an edition prepared by Furong Daokai's disciple Jingyin Zijue, at least parts of which go back to the period shortly after Yiqing's death.[81]

In Touzi Yiqing's extant recorded sayings, most of the expressions that became associated with the silent illumination approach of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition are not present. There are some indications, however, that Yiqing did advocate a form of still meditation in which a person's inherent Buddha-nature is revealed. This is exemplified in the following passage: "In the silent and profound world of *yin,* words fall into the deep pit. If you try to imitate it and hold on to it, then heaven and earth will be far apart; if you discard it, there will be endless rebirth. The turbulent waves are vast and extensive; the white billows fill the sky. The bright pearl that quells the ocean; who will receive it in his palm?"[82] The first part of this passage seems to describe the realm of still meditation, which one must neither cling to nor abandon. The turbulent ocean is an image of the deluded mind, while the pearl is the classic representation of inherent Buddha-nature, always present but only accessible when the waves of delusion have stilled. This passage suggests that Yiqing considered quieting the mind in meditation essential to reaching enlightenment. That Yiqing may have emphasized meditation is also suggested by the fact that he makes several references to Bodhidharma's nine years of wall contemplation.[83]

Elsewhere, when Yiqing is asked the standard ritual question about

what his teachings and lineage are, he answers: "Before [the time of] the primordial Buddha, an arrow shoots and penetrates two levels of mountains."[84] The "two levels of mountains" may be a reference to Yiqing's peculiar transmission by proxy. It seems significant that Yiqing here invokes the primordial Buddha to describe the essence of his teachings, given the importance of the expression "beyond the primordial Buddha" in the twelfth-century Caodong tradition. The question about a master's teaching and lineage often appears in recorded sayings literature, and the same master may be asked it several times, each time giving a different answer. But in several other places, Yiqing invoked the phrase "beyond (or before) the primordial Buddha."[85]

Yiqing also frequently employed an intense poetic nature imagery similar to the imagery that Hongzhi later used extensively (although perhaps not as successfully as Hongzhi). Consider this passage from one of his sermons: "[The master] ascended the hall and said: 'The thousand peaks have the color of rain, and the dead wood sprouts twigs. The myriad gullies are flowing with smoke, and the moss on the rocks grows bamboo. Just at the third watch, the monkeys in the western hills call out, and at midnight the clouds on the eastern summit return as before.'"[86] Such passages must be understood to express the wondrous quality of the realm of enlightenment.

Still, the extant sayings and writings of Yiqing do not emphasize absolute stillness nor the manifestness of inherent Buddha-nature in meditation in the way that Hongzhi and Qingliao did, and to the extent that we have access to them, Yiqing's teachings cannot be considered "silent illumination" by the criteria established earlier. It does seem likely, however, that Yiqing began teaching with a stylistic emphasis that became a precursor for silent illumination thought. Even if Yiqing taught a kind of proto–silent illumination, he could hardly have received it as a teaching handed down in the Caodong lineage. Had silent illumination teachings been passed along in the Caodong tradition (ignoring the fact that the lineage itself is of dubious historicity), Touzi Yiqing's master, Fushan Fayuan, would have received it from Dayang Jingxuan and passed it on to Yiqing without ever teaching it himself. But the tradition itself maintains that it was only *after* Yiqing was enlightened under the tutelage of Fayuan that he was chosen to receive Jingxuan's transmission, and no extant source suggests that Yiqing was trained in any way differently from other students of Fayuan.[87] Therefore, silent illumination teachings could not have had a role in Yiqing's religious education.

Next, let us turn to Yiqing's two famous disciples, Dahong Baoen and Furong Daokai, who firmly established the new Caodong tradition in twelfth-century China. No edition of Dahong Baoen's recorded sayings has been preserved, and the only extant sources for the teachings of Baoen are the bits of sermons and other material that are found in the transmission histories.[88] No suggestions of a silent illumination approach appear in this material, although in the *Xudeng lu* Baoen is twice asked about Bodhi-

dharma's nine years of wall contemplation.[89] Because the surviving material on Baoen is so scant, the possibility that he taught silent illumination cannot be ruled out, even if evidence of it does not appear in the existing records. But in this connection, it is interesting to note that no evidence of a silent illumination approach appears in any of the material on the Caodong tradition presented in the *Sengbao zhuan*. As argued earlier, there is good reason to believe that the *Sengbao zhuan* took most, if not all, of its plentiful new information about the Caodong tradition from Baoen's now-lost work, the *Caodong zongpai lu*. If the *Caodong zongpai lu* had been colored by a silent illumination approach, it should have appeared in the *Sengbao zhuan*. That this is not the case strengthens the impression that Baoen did not teach silent illumination. Silent illumination vocabulary is also absent from the scant material that is available on Baoen's descendants.[90] It would seem, then, that Baoen chose not to pick up on the silent illumination themes of his teacher Yiqing.

The first Caodong master whose sayings or writings exhibit a clear silent illumination approach is Furong Daokai. No independent collection of recorded sayings attributed to Daokai is extant, but a few pages of sermons and writings entitled "Furong Kai chanshi yu" (Sayings of Chan master Kai of Furong) are included in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* collection.[91] As I have noted, material in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* has been shown to be very close to what is found in extant Song editions, and it is quite possible that the record of Daokai found here goes back to a no-longer-extant edition of his recorded sayings, such as the one mentioned in his funerary inscription. Daokai's entries in the *Xudeng lu* and *Pudeng lu* contain some of the same material,[92] but the passage that most clearly seems to expound a silent illumination approach appears only in the "Furong Kai chanshi yu." It reads:

> If you can awaken to and understand [where] your own self [was] at the time of the empty eon, then it will be like hundreds or thousands of suns and moons whose radiance is inexhaustible, or like countless sentient beings all at once attaining liberation. But if you still don't understand, it is absolutely necessary that you retreat [from trying to understand intellectually] and come to a halt. You yourself must completely cease; you yourself should be completely at rest; you must be like a censer in an old shrine; the [instance of] one thought [of yours] should last for ten thousand years; and you should be like a man who doesn't take even a single breath. If you are able to be like this constantly for months and years, then if you don't obtain the fruits of the Way, I am speaking nonsense and have been deceiving you all. [If this is the case,] I will surely be born [again] trapped in hell. I urge you all not to mistakenly apply your bodies and minds in trying to analyze the distance of the road ahead. Do not rely on an intermittent approach. It is necessary that you yourself put your strength into it; no one else can do it for you.[93]

Daokai here exhorts his audience to practice prolonged silent meditation, remaining completely still and letting go of any intellectual effort altogether.

This passage is also the earliest instance in the record of a Caodong master of the use of some of the seven practice instructions attributed to Shishuang Qingzhu.[94] Its style is similar to that of many of Hongzhi's sermons. And like Hongzhi, Daokai also maintains that a certain effort is necessary for proper meditation and that the practice will or should eventually lead to some sort of enlightenment (obtaining "the fruits of the Way").

Several other passages in the "Furong Kai chanshi yu" also express what seems to be a silent illumination approach. The following is a good example:

> The path to entering the Way is to be empty inside and tranquil outside, like water still and frozen. Then all things will brilliantly reflect [one another], and neither submerged nor floating on top, all phenomena will be just thus. Therefore, it is said that fire does not depend on the sun to be hot, and wind does not depend on the moon to be cool. A solid rock contains water, heaven and blindness are both radiance, brightness and darkness are naturally present [within each other], dry and wet exist in the same place: if you can be like this, then the withered tree facing the cliff will flower in the middle of the night, and the woman of wood carries a basket, while in the fresh breeze under the moon, the stone man will dance with floating sleeves.[95]

"Empty inside and tranquil outside" clearly refers to still meditation. The implication of the passage seems to be that when one meditates correctly, the whole world will be in harmony, and all dualities will disappear. There are also several references in the "Furong Kai chanshi yu" to "beyond the primordial Buddha" and its equivalents,[96] as well as to Bodhidharma and his nine years of wall contemplation.[97]

It cannot be ruled out that there are later silent illumination interpolations in the "Furong Kai chanshi yu," since the text is not positively attested until 1238, when the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* was published. But it seems unlikely that the many instances are all interpolations. Furthermore, a passage like the following, which appears in both the "Furong Kai chanshi yu" and in the *Xudeng lu* (compiled before 1101, when Daokai was in the middle of his career), also conveys what seems to be a silent illumination approach. Here, Daokai is quoted as saying: "Worthy Chan students, even if you have made up your mind to stomp until your feet burst, it is still at this point better if you cease. In the old palace, the breeze is soothing; in its winding corridors, people become peaceful."[98] It appears, then, that Daokai taught his students from the early part of his career that what they needed to do to attain enlightenment and experience the Buddha-nature was not to make a great and heroic effort but rather to engage in meditation with a quiet determination. In this way, Chan students could experience the Buddha-nature they had never lost. This is exactly the kind of approach that Dahui later attacked as heretical silent illumination and which may also have been criticized by Zhenjing Kewen and Yuanwu Keqin.

In spite of the scantness of material that is extant, it seems clear that

Daokai did advocate a type of silent illumination very similar to that later found in the record of Hongzhi. Unlike his dharma brother Baoen, Daokai apparently embraced and developed the early silent illumination style of Touzi Yiqing's teachings. We may conclude that it is more than likely that the silent illumination approach that became the hallmark of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition first began with Furong Daokai.

As one would expect, evidence of a silent illumination approach can be found in the extant material on several of Daokai's disciples. Danxia Zichun, the teacher of Hongzhi and Qingliao, is the only one of Daokai's descendants for whom a collection of recorded sayings is still extant.[99] In Zichun's recorded sayings from his time at Dahong, expressions of a silent illumination approach appear in several places. Passages like the following quite clearly advocate a meditation that brings the mind to a total rest:

> You should realize that this is the last day of your life. Have you prepared yourself for today's matter? . . . You cannot prepare by studying the sūtras and teachings, you cannot prepare by reciting from your Chan notebooks, and you cannot prepare by maintaining a clever mind. Precisely at this time when you are dying and all confused, forgetting instantly everything you remembered in the past—at this point it is necessary that you establish yourself in the ground of truth, and it is no use trying to do it in a superficial manner. Right away, for twenty-four hours a day, you should all prepare for it by ceasing and resting. You must completely let go of all worldly concerns and sit totally still [lengzuo] in the "dry wood hall." You must die a turn and then in this death establish everything in the whole universe.[100]

Here, Zichun strongly advocates still meditation (*lengzuo* means "cold" or "frozen" sitting) as the only way to realize one's inherent Buddha-nature. Sūtra and gongan study is not going to be of any use in the end, he says, and Zichun implicitly criticizes those who emphasize the study of the words of Chan masters. In other places, Zichun talks about "sitting alone like a dry stick,"[101] refers to Bodhidharma's wall contemplation,[102] and instructs his audience to be like cold ashes in a censer.[103] In his epitaph, Zichun is described as "being in a state of vacuity without letting it become solidified, and illuminating while in a state of constant stillness."[104] About his followers, the epitaph states that "the whole congregation is in a state of emptiness, and they meditate and quietly reflect."[105] It thus seems quite clear that Zichun taught a silent illumination approach to practice and enlightenment.

There is little material available on most of Daokai's other disciples, but for at least some of them there are indications that they advocated a silent illumination approach. The records in the transmission histories of Kumu Facheng, who seems to have been an important disciple of Daokai, do not show any advocacy of silent illumination, but his epitaph suggests that he too was associated with silent illumination teachings. The author of the epitaph, the official Cheng Ju (1078–1144), ends it by saying that Facheng

"always was sitting [in meditation] in the monastery, forgetting both stillness and illumination and not differentiating between coming and going. Thus we can know his Way!" In the poem that follows the prose text in the epitaph, Cheng again talks about Facheng "peacefully sitting [in meditation] in the monastery."[106] The emphasis the inscription puts on Facheng's meditation, using the terms "stillness" and "illumination," associates Facheng with a silent illumination approach. Furthermore, Facheng's epithet "Kumu," meaning "dry wood," strongly indicates that he was well known for his dedication to prolonged meditation.

In the entry on Chanti Weizhao in the *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* probably compiled in the mid–1160s, there is a long and very interesting sermon, which I referred to in chapter 5. This sermon contains much criticism of intense gongan study, but it also shows Weizhao advocating a kind of silent illumination. The sermon begins:

> Worthy Chan meditation practitioners: There is no need to be all confused and muddled. Sit [in meditation] so that you become enlightened. If you become enlightened, you will be in a state of freedom twenty-four hours a day. You will not have to be concerned about Buddhas or patriarchs or even yourself. Even less do you have to listen to other people's instructions. The great master Bodhidharma came from the West to [teach] "pointing directly to the human mind" and "seeing your nature and becoming a Buddha." Why should there be [a need for] a lot of complicated words and phrases that cause you to ponder and become confused? Today, in the various monasteries of the realm, there is no teacher [*shan zhishi*] who does not tell you to study Chan and study the way and to practice. . . . Furthermore, [they tell you to] examine the words [kanhua] [of the old masters], make commentary, and ponder gongan cases, analyzing past and present. You just don't know the difference between good and bad. If you want to remain a [deluded] sentient being, then go and study with someone, and sit at a desk and record his words in your big and small notebooks.[107]

Later, Weizhao says about his own teachings: "Now I only teach you to be like someone who has died the great death. If you truly can be like someone who has died the great death, then why should you spend time on a lot of hard work [*gongfu*], like practicing Chan and studying the Way, or on bowing and burning incense? It is a lot of wasted effort. I have been abbot at five different monasteries, and what I have taught my followers at all of them does not go beyond this: be like someone who has died the great death."[108] The "great death" is most commonly associated with a gongan story involving the famous Zhaozhou Congshen and Touzi Datong (819–914), a third-generation descendant of Shitou. In it, Zhaozhou poses the question to Touzi Datong, "How about when a person dies the great death yet returns to life?"[109] This is a reference to the moment of enlightenment, the death of the deluded mind. At the end of Weizhao's sermon in the *Seng-*

bao zhengxu zhuan, a student asks him why he only talks about "great death" and not about "returning to life." Weizhao answers that since the student still does not know how to die, why should he be concerned about returning to life?[110] Although "great death" by itself can refer to enlightenment, the passage here gives the expression a different twist. By stressing the necessity of the great death and refusing to talk about returning to life, Weizhao emphasizes quiet meditation and stillness of mind while downplaying the necessity of an experience of great enlightenment. "Great death" here seems to be a description of the total quietude that one should attain in order for one's inherent Buddha-nature to shine forth. As will be recalled, it was criticized as a silent illumination expression by Dahui.[111] Weizhao's emphasis on the "great death" and what seems to be his total rejection of gongan study was, as far as we can know, unusual among masters of the Caodong tradition.[112] But it seems clear that Weizhao did advocate a kind of silent illumination, even if his particular style of teaching differed somewhat from that of the other Caodong masters.

The short and selective records on most of Daokai's other disciples that are found in the transmission histories give little indication of these masters' specific teachings and approaches to Buddhist practice. In Daowei's very short entry in the *Pudeng lu,* however, a student asks him about the expression "completely silent and responding perfectly" (*momo xiangying*).[113] Although I have not found this expression elsewhere, it is very similar to many of the four-character expressions Hongzhi employs, and it may have been part of a common Caodong stock of silent illumination expressions. As we have seen, Daowei was criticized by Dahui, who claimed to have studied with him and rejected his teachings. According to Dahui, Daowei taught silent illumination. We can probably safely conclude that Daowei—who seems to have been one of Daokai's most prominent disciples, although he was later forgotten—taught a silent illumination approach similar to that of the other Caodong masters discussed above.

A final indication that Daokai's descendants taught silent illumination is found in the biography of Touzi Yiqing that is attached to his recorded sayings already briefly discussed in chapter 4, which I have referred to as the *Yiqing xingzhuang.*[114] It is not clear who the author of this biography was, but it was probably originally included in Yiqing's recorded sayings, which were edited by Daokai's disciple Jingyin Zijue. Zijue may or may not have been the author, but the biography is likely to have been the product of one or more of Daokai's disciples. The *Yiqing xingzhuang* mentions both Daokai and Baoen and notes that they served at Dahong in succession. It also reports that they each received imperial honors and that they both were invited to preach in the capital.[115] One gets the impression that at least one of them was alive when the biography was written, because it also states that Yiqing's dharma "sons" and "grandsons" were active at the time throughout the empire.[116] The fact that both Baoen and Daokai are mentioned makes it unlikely that it is a later forgery. Already at the time of Hongzhi, Baoen was largely forgotten, since he did not have many successful descendants.

As discussed earlier, the contents of the *Yiqing xingzhuang* are very similar to the entry on Yiqing in the *Sengbao zhuan,* and it seems they must both stem from a common source. I suggested that this source was likely Baoen's work on the Caodong tradition, the *Caodong zongpai lu.* The biographies found in the *Sengbao zhuan* and in the *Yiqing xingzhuang* differ most strikingly, however, in the silent illumination vocabulary that is found in the latter. It was probably not present in Baoen's work, since it is not found in the *Sengbao zhuan* (and, as argued above, it seems likely that Baoen did not advocate silent illumination). Thus, it must have been introduced by the author of the biography. In the *Yiqing xingzhuang,* we are told that Yiqing, when he was studying with Fushan Fayuan, "simply caused himself to be quiet and silent, refraining from thought and self-illuminating [*zizhao*]. The master directly extinguished all emotions and views and immersed himself in 'before the empty eon.'"[117] We are also told that Fayuan himself stayed with Dayang Jingxuan for several years before he had a "silent realization" (*moqi*), thus strengthening the notion that Jingxuan taught a special form of Caodong teaching to which Fayuan became the heir, at least spiritually.[118] Later, the *Yiqing xingzhuang* relates that after Yiqing became the abbot at the Haihui monastery, his "silent illumination encounters with students became ripe [*shu*]."[119] This is one of the few instances in Caodong literature in which one finds the expression "silent illumination." The passage suggests that the term may have originated with Yiqing or, more likely, Daokai, and that it may have been much more widely used within the Caodong tradition than extant sources would lead us to believe. About Yiqing at his second post as abbot at Touzi, the *Yiqing xingzhuang* says: "[Yiqing was] frozen and withered, cold and silent. Forgetting external conditions [*wangyuan*], he was quiet and illuminating; sitting or lying down, he was like wood or bamboo."[120] This imagery evokes a perpetual state of still meditation.

At the end of the *Yiqing xingzhuang,* it is stated that as outstanding representatives of the Caodong tradition, Yiqing's first- and second-generation descendants were "like people who had died the great death."[121] Even if the *Yiqing xingzhuang* was the product of Zijue, it most likely presents a kind of consensus among Daokai's students on how Yiqing should be understood to have taught silent illumination. Had it been otherwise, in all likelihood it would not have survived in this form. Of course, Yiqing probably did not advocate a full-fledged form of silent illumination, and neither the *Sengbao zhuan* nor any of the other biographies of Yiqing that exist include any of the silent illumination references used in the *Yiqing xingzhuan.* The twelfth-century Caodong tradition was clearly trying to project a silent illumination approach backward onto Touzi Yiqing, who was crucial as the great reviver of the lineage and a focal ancestor. This implies that silent illumination was seen as a teaching that distinguished and defined the new Caodong tradition, even before Hongzhi's generation.

The evidence presented above strongly indicates that Daokai advocated a silent illumination approach and that many—perhaps all—of the descendants in his lineage continued with this approach in their own teachings.

The indications of a silent illumination approach found in the epitaphs of Danxia Zichun and Kumu Facheng, together with the entry on Weizhao in the *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* are especially important, since these sources seem very unlikely to have been subject to later interpolation. The epitaph of Zichun is too early to have been influenced by the success of Hongzhi and his generation, and Facheng and Weizhao were not important enough in the later lineage to be likely candidates for posthumous attribution. There are better reasons to suspect later influence on the records of Daokai and Danxia Zichun, since they were the direct ancestors of the most famous advocate of silent illumination, Hongzhi Zhengjue. Even here, however, interpolations seem unlikely. The many indications that Daokai's disciples taught a silent illumination approach, moreover, strongly indicate that silent illumination in the new Caodong tradition did indeed begin with Furong Daokai. Finally, as shown in chapter 6, Dahui's attacks on silent illumination clearly targeted not only Hongzhi and his generation but also Daokai and his students, while Dahui made no reference to Baoen and his descendants. Also, there is no indication that Dahui ever implicated the earlier Caodong tradition in his criticism of silent illumination. Thus, Dahui indirectly confirms that silent illumination began with Daokai and continued among his descendants.

Silent Illumination and the Question of Orthodoxy

I have already shown that Dahui exaggerated and distorted the Caodong position when he attacked its silent illumination teachings, although his characterization of it was partly accurate. Dahui succeeded in permanently discrediting the term "silent illumination," and he and his kanhua Chan came to be seen as representative of orthodox Chan. But was the silent illumination of the new Caodong tradition really less orthodox than Dahui's position from the point of view of the earlier Song Chan school? To begin to answer this question, it should first be reemphasized that both Dahui's Chan and that of the new Caodong tradition, like all of Song Chan, was firmly grounded in the doctrine of Buddha-nature. As we have seen, it was agreed upon not only in Chinese Chan but in all of Chinese Buddhism by the time of the Song that all beings are already endowed with the enlightened mind, which is no different from that of all the Buddhas. If, from the point of view of enlightenment, the difference between delusion and enlightenment itself is understood to be a delusion, any attempt to reach enlightenment, as well as any discussion of how to do so, can be seen as simply contributing to obscuring our inherent Buddha-nature. The entire Chan "encounter dialogue" literature and gongan commentary tradition should be understood in this light—as a way of using words to point to enlightenment in an disruptive and transgressive language that was presented as transcending regular human language (and therefore was no real language at all) and pointing directly to the human mind. Much of the fantastical nature imagery used by Hongzhi and many other Chan masters also falls into this category.

Nevertheless, it was clearly understood in Song Chan that in reality,

encounter dialogue and gongan commentary, or poetic depictions of the realm of enlightenment, were by themselves unlikely to awaken the Buddha-mind of most Chan students: meditation was also a necessary component of Chan training. But discussion of meditation practice and the open acknowledgement of its importance remained an uncomfortable issue for the Chan tradition that loomed large in the Song. Meditation, of course, is ordinarily considered to be the primary Buddhist monastic practice, and the Buddhist world has produced countless treatises and discussions on meditation and meditation techniques. Yet the Chan tradition had a difficult relationship with the concept of meditation from early on. The traditional understanding of meditation as a way to purify the mind and gain insight that could lead to liberation was directly contradicted by Chan's own rhetoric. Thus, the earliest extant version of the *Platform Sūtra* from the eighth century states in strong terms that meditation (*ding*) and wisdom (*hui*) are identical and that one cannot reach wisdom through the practice of meditation.[122] In several other places, the early *Platform Sūtra* further seems to reduce meditation to a sort of metaphor for the enlightened mind itself. This sentiment was only amplified in the later versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that would have been known by the Song-dynasty audience.[123] And, of course, every person with any education would have known the story of Nanyue Huairang demonstrating to his disciple Mazu Daoyi the futility of trying to become a Buddha through meditation by mockingly pretending to polish a tile in an attempt to make it into a mirror.[124]

While meditation as a path to enlightenment is repudiated in these and many other Chan sources, there is much evidence that formal meditation was an important part of the regimen in Song Chan monasteries, and even the *Platform Sūtra* exhorts Huineng's disciples to diligently sit in meditation after his death just as if he were still there.[125] Thus, meditation was an important part of Chan practice, even if Chan masters found it difficult to make any proclamations about meditation—just as they found it difficult to make any kataphatic statement about enlightenment.[126]

Because of this state of affairs, little is known about the kind of meditation that was practiced in Chan monasteries through the Northern Song and earlier. In the early twelfth century, however, an unusual Chan meditation manual that provides practical meditation instruction came to be circulated widely.[127] This is the well-known *Zuochan yi* (Manual for sitting meditation),[128] a work probably written by the monk Changlu Zongze at the beginning of the twelfth century. The *Zuochan yi* is an extremely important work precisely because it breaks with the Chan school's tradition of avoiding written meditation instruction. In spite of—or maybe because of—its straightforward discussion of meditation, it appears to have been very well received by its twelfth-century audience. Although it may have initially been meant for laypeople, the *Zuochan yi* was later included in Zongze's famous manual for Chan monasteries, the *Chanyuan qinggui,* in an edition published in 1202.[129]

The meditation instructions in the *Zuochan yi* are quite simple. After

having exhorted "the Bodhisattva who studies wisdom" to, among other things, arouse the thought of great compassion, make body and mind one, and be moderate in food, drink, and sleep, the *Zuochan yi* instructs the meditator to spread a thick mat in a quiet place, assume a proper demeanor, and sit either in the full or half cross-legged position. The meditator must sit straight like a stūpa, with the back of the right hand resting on the left foot and the left hand on top of the right, thumb tips touching. With the tongue against the front of the palate, the meditator must his close lips and teeth and keep his eyes slightly open. Having settled his posture and regulated his breathing, the meditator should then relax his abdomen.[130]

Following this discussion of posture, the *Zuochan yi* simply states: "Do not think of any good or evil whatsoever. Whenever a thought occurs, be aware of it; as soon as you are aware of it, it will vanish. If you remain for a long period forgetful of external conditions [*wangyuan*], you will naturally become unified. This is the essential art of seated meditation."[131] The text continues: "If you get a good grasp of the meaning of this, then the four elements [of your body] will naturally become light and at ease, your spirit will become fresh and sharp, your thoughts will be correct and distinctly clear; the flavor of the dharma will sustain your spirit, and you will be calm, pure, and joyful. If you can give rise to this clarity, then you can be said to be like a dragon getting to water or a tiger taking to the mountains. If you still can't give rise to such clarity, then simply let the wind fan the flames without making any great effort."[132] A little further on, the *Zuochan yi* states: "This one teaching of meditation is our most urgent business. If you do not practice meditation and quiet reflection, then when it comes down to it you will be completely at a loss. Therefore, to seek the pearl, we should still the waves; if we disturb the water, it will be hard to get. When the water of meditation is clear, the pearl of the mind will appear of itself. Therefore, the *Yuanjue jing* says: 'Unimpeded, immaculate wisdom always arises dependent on meditation.'"[133] The text concludes: "Friends in Chan, go over this text again and again. Benefiting ourselves as well as others, let us together achieve perfect enlightenment."[134] Here is no reference to disruptive language or gongan, shouts or blows,[135] and Zongze appears to suggest that one can become enlightened simply through the meditation he describes.

Although it cannot be discussed in any detail here, Carl Bielefeldt has shown how the *Zuochan yi* seems to partly derive from Zhiyi's discussions of Tiantai meditation and to accord well with early Chan discussions of meditation known from the Dunhuang material.[136] I will further suggest that the *Zuochan yi* almost certainly depicts a type of meditation that was standard in Northern Song Chan and that continued to be seen as valid in the Southern Song. This is evidenced by the inclusion of the *Zuochan yi* in the 1202 edition of the *Chanyuan qinggui*. Also, an abbreviated version of the *Zuochan yi* was included in the *Dazang yilan* (Digest of the Buddhist canon), a Chan compendium for laypeople composed sometime before 1157.[137] The *Zuochan yi* was transmitted to Japan before 1250, and Dōgen made good use of it in

compiling his own meditation manual.[138] If it had been a controversial work, it would hardly have circulated so widely. Bielefeldt suggests that the *Zuochan yi* appears to be a "throwback" that was out of tune with the times (presumably because it was written during the period when silent illumination and especially kanhua Chan was being formulated).[139] The popularity of the work, however, seems to indicate that this was not how it was generally perceived in twelfth-century Chan circles. In spite of the powerful rhetoric of both silent illumination and kanhua Chan, the approach to meditation that was advocated in the *Zuochan yi* continued to be considered orthodox.[140]

This is further evidenced by another meditation manual, also entitled *Zuochan yi* and attributed to Foxin Bencai (d.u.), a master in the Huanglong branch of the Linji tradition and a contemporary of Dahui and Hongzhi's.[141] Although Bencai's manual is less specific than that of Zongze, he has much to say about the practice of meditation. Bencai here describes how one must sit in meditation with a mind that is "empty yet cognizant, quiescent yet illuminated [*xu er zhi, ji er zhao*]." He proceeds to complain that many who sit diligently do not become enlightened because they cannot give up conceptualizing.[142] Bencai further says: "If you can control yourself and clarify and unify your mind and subtly unite with the uncreated, the flower of your mind will suddenly bloom. . . . It is like forgetting something, then suddenly remembering, or like being ill and then suddenly cured. Within, a joyfully happy mind arises, and you will know by yourself that you are becoming a Buddha. Then you will know that there is no other Buddha outside your mind. . . . For students of the Way, sitting in meditation is essential. If you don't, you will be stuck for a long time in the cycle of birth and rebirth."[143] Bencai ends the piece on a defensive note by stating that although it is painfully unpleasant for him to talk about this, it is too hard to keep silent.[144]

Even though Bencai's text may have been written after Zongze's manual (we cannot know whether Zongze and Bencai knew of each other's work), talking about meditation continued to be embarrassing in the Chan school, and I know of no other text from the eleventh or twelfth centuries that discusses meditation in terms other than lyrical metaphors. In any case, Bencai's description seems to fit very well with the meditation instructions in Zongze's text, and, like Zongze, Bencai strongly suggested that meditating as he described could lead to enlightenment. Furthermore, both Zongze and Bencai emphasized that for a Chan student, the practice of sitting meditation is absolutely necessary. It is perhaps worth reiterating here that Zongze was a member of the Yunmen tradition, while Bencai was in the Linji tradition. There is nothing to suggest that these two were in any way outside of the Chan mainstream at the time.

It would seem that for most of Northern Song Chan, and probably for earlier Chan as well, a style of sitting meditation that could help uncover a person's true nature, as described in the texts by Zongze and Bencai, was a standard feature of Chan monastic training. Although Chan students are never described as having experienced great enlightenment while simply sit-

ting in meditation, in many biographies of Chan masters there is no specific enlightenment episode recorded, and instead the master's deep insights are lauded. Perhaps this can be seen as a recognition that enlightenment could take place in meditation. Meditation was clearly also often understood as a way of preparing the mind for enlightenment; once meditation had been mastered, reading a gongan story about an ancient Chan patriarch, engaging in a dialogue with a Chan master, or watching a bird fly past might all trigger an enlightenment experience.[145]

The type of meditation advocated by Hongzhi and the new Caodong tradition seems to have been very much in tune with the meditation described by Zongze and Bencai. The assertion that through meditation a person's inherent Buddha-nature will become manifest and the stress on the importance of meditation in both texts are in perfect accord with the Caodong silent illumination approach. As we have seen, both Hongzhi's record and Zongze's *Zuochan yi* use the simile of waves on water that need to be stilled so that the original clarity of the water will appear. Furthermore, Zongze's statement that the meditator should "simply let the wind fan the flames without making any great effort" is also found several times in the record of Hongzhi and seems a perfect expression of the natural ease of silent illumination.[146] In fact, the silent illumination teachings of the new Caodong tradition seem to have been predicated on the kind of meditation depicted by Zongze and Bencai. The expression used by Bencai to describe how one should hold one's mind in meditation—"empty yet cognizant, quiescent yet illuminated"—is also used by Hongzhi in a slightly different form (*xu er ling, ji er zhao;* empty yet numinous, quiescent yet illuminated).[147]

The notion that, given the opportunity in meditation, our inherently enlightened Buddha-nature might simply reveal itself, at least temporarily, was not at all controversial in Northern Song Chan. Dahui's master, Yuanwu Keqin, is recorded in several sources as having used expressions that invoke the serene realm of the Buddha-nature and are quite similar to those used by Hongzhi and other members of the new Caodong tradition. In fact, the expression "empty yet numinous, quiescent yet illuminated"—the exact phrase that Hongzhi used—occurs altogether six times in Keqin's extant works.[148] Other Linji masters also recognized that the realm of pure enlightenment could be found in the quiescent mind. Shishuang Chuyuan, for example, who was the master of both Huanglong Huinan and Yangqi Fanghui and thus a crucial link in the twelfth-century Linji lineage, refers approvingly in a sermon to the exhortations of the former abbot at Shishuang, Qingzhu, to be like a strip of silk or a censer in an old shrine, and he ends by stating: "The withered tree in front of the hall sends forth spring flowers."[149]

The new Caodong tradition, then, seems to have simply adopted the type of meditation already common in Chan and elevated its importance. What made the silent illumination teachings of the Caodong tradition distinctive, therefore, was not the meditation technique or even its doctrinal

underpinnings but its sustained, exuberant celebration of inherent enlightenment and its persistent stress on stillness and de-emphasis on enlightenment as a breakthrough experience. In this way, the Caodong tradition *did* make meditation an end in itself: as long as meditation was approached correctly, nothing else was really needed. Thus, the silent illumination practice of the new Caodong tradition really did differentiate it from the rest of Chan, and the new Caodong tradition was understood in the Chan community to have its own special style, which, as we have seen, was strongly associated with a particular vocabulary.

That the Caodong tradition was perceived as having a distinctive style of teaching well before Dahui began his attacks is also evidenced by some interesting comments attributed to Zhang Shangying. They are found in the preface to a second edition of the controversial *Wujia zongpai* by Daguan Tanying discussed earlier, which claimed that there were two masters called "Daowu" and that only the Caodong tradition descended from the Daowu who was an heir to Shitou Xiqian, while the other Chan traditions all descended from the Daowu who was an heir to Mazu. In this preface, Zhang is cited as having stated, after obtaining what he felt was proof of Tanying's ideas from Tanying himself: "In the past, I doubted that Deshan [Xuanjian, who became an ancestor in the Fayan and Yunmen traditions] and Dongshan [Liangjie, the founder of the Caodong tradition] both descended from Shitou. How could it be that their teaching methods were as different as death and life? . . . Now it is crystal clear."[150] Although it is uncertain when or by whom the preface was written,[151] it is quite possible that Zhang may have expressed the views attributed to him here. Zhang was very familiar with the entire Chan tradition of his time, and he must have been quite aware of Daokai and his disciples. (And, as we have seen, he wrote a text partly in praise of Baoen.) Like others, he noted the teachings of the new Caodong tradition as distinctively different from those of the other Chan traditions.

Even though the new Caodong tradition's teaching style was seen as distinctive, it did not entail, as I have argued above, a radical departure from earlier meditation techniques, and the Caodong tradition's understanding of inherent Buddha-nature was also quite orthodox.[152] But the new Caodong tradition became noted for its development of a specific vocabulary that depicted the wonderful inherent Buddha-nature that all sentient beings share, an attitude toward cultivation that emphasized sitting meditation as an entry into the sacred realm of the Buddha, and even an approach to daily life that fostered awareness of the all-encompassing presence of Buddha-nature. The kanhua Chan advocated by Dahui was, on the other hand, truly an innovation and represented a new style of Chan. As I argued in chapter 5, Dahui developed what was essentially a new type of meditation out of existing gongan practice. In spite of Dahui's accusations that the Caodong masters and other Chan teachers with whom he disagreed were teaching a heterodox doctrine, it was Dahui himself who was unorthodox in his un-

abashed de-emphasis of inherent enlightenment and his new meditation technique strongly focused on working toward a moment of breakthrough enlightenment.[153] By insisting on enlightenment as a goal that must always be kept in mind, furthermore, Dahui might have been seen as open to criticism for being both dualistic and gradualistic, although I have found no evidence that such criticisms were raised.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that silent illumination was a characteristic teaching of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition in the lineage of Daokai. By extrapolating from the rich and abundant teachings of Hongzhi, it is possible to at least loosely define a silent illumination approach that can be recognized in the extant material of a number of other members of the new Caodong tradition. The twelfth-century Caodong teachings of silent illumination are quite recognizable in Dahui's attacks, and to a point, he accurately depicted their approach to meditation and enlightenment. But Dahui only addressed one aspect of the teachings of the new Caodong tradition. He ignored the evidence that their meditation did not purely seek stillness and the cessation of all mental activity. Enlightenment was hardly rejected outright by the Caodong teachers in the way Dahui claimed that it was. Also, the meditation practice of the new Caodong tradition was not in itself controversial; rather, it was simply a continuation of the standard form of meditation in the Northern Song. However, the Caodong approach did become distinctive in its overt insistence on still meditation and its implication that nothing else was really needed to uncover a person's inherent Buddha-nature. Although there certainly are references to enlightenment in the sources associated with Hongzhi and other Caodong masters, it is perfectly true that the extant teachings of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition do not emphasize enlightenment as a sudden and crucial event in time and space. To many of Dahui's contemporaries who were familiar with the teachings of the new Caodong tradition, his accusations that silent illumination practice was passive and did not seek enlightenment must have seemed perfectly justified.

Conclusion

Beginning in the late eleventh century, the religious genius of the masters of the Caodong revival created what was essentially a whole new tradition of Chan, with a complete hagiography, a robust literature, and a distinctive style of instruction and meditation. The Linji tradition, which was well established at the time the new Caodong tradition emerged, proved able to renew itself in response to the Caodong revival and created its own innovative teachings. The intensity of religious conviction, the concern for the well-being of the audience, and the great eloquence and sincerity that come across to us in the preserved writings of both the Caodong and Linji traditions of the twelfth century are still moving after many centuries. As should be quite clear by now, however, I wish to argue that developments in Song Chan cannot be understood in a purely soteriological framework. As I have shown in this book, political, social, and economic factors of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries had a decisive impact on the development of Chinese Chan Buddhism, without which there could have been no Zen in East Asia as we now know it.

The Song state and its officials held great power over monastic Buddhism, a situation that had an especially significant impact on the elite monastics and monasteries that the Chan school was associated with. The Chan school could not have developed into the dominant form of elite monastic Buddhism without the Song court's policy of seeking to convert as many monasteries as possible into public ones, which gave the Chan school an institutional basis and enabled it to consolidate and expand its lineages, develop its teachings, and create and disseminate its distinctive literature. The state also actively involved itself with the governance of monasteries, the bestowal of abbacies and honors on illustrious clergy, and many other monastic matters.

It is not surprising, given this context, to find that Song Chan masters both accepted and embraced state control and eagerly sought out the support and friendship of members of the court and high-ranking officials. In contrast, in popular literature—and until recently in scholarly works as well—Chan monks of the Tang dynasty are depicted as lofty individuals who sought the tranquility of the mountains in faraway places, unconcerned with

the dusty secular world. Although this was an image the Song Chan school itself perpetuated, the reality was probably always very different. We must not yield to the temptation to pronounce Song Chan a faint, degenerate version of the great Chan of the Tang; indeed, we must remember that this very picture itself was created by the Song Chan school.[1] The Buddhist monastic establishment and the Chan school had always been dependent on support and acceptance from the state and the educated elite. Thus, Shenhui, the major advocate of Huineng's position as the sixth patriarch of Chan, associated with emperors and the highest officials in the land, and had he not done so, he certainly would not have been successful in eventually securing the position of patriarch for Huineng. Of course, indications are that Huineng only became accepted as the sixth patriarch and the ancestor to all of Song Chan after a court commission had decided in his favor. Huineng himself is said to have been invited to court by the Empress Wu and given offerings of an exquisite robe and bolts of precious silk—although he is also said to have declined the invitation, thus upholding the ideal of the great Chan master aloof from worldly powers while still gaining the prestige and sanction that the granting of official honors implied.[2]

As we have seen in the case of Furong Daokai, however, expressions of imperial grace could not safely be refused in the Song (nor at most other times in Chinese history). To attempt to turn down an appointment to an abbacy would also likely incur the wrath of the court or the appointing official. An illustrious Song Chan master with powerful connections could exercise some influence over his own abbacy positions, but in most cases, appointments were orders that could not be disobeyed. In this and many other ways, the monks of the Buddhist establishment were very much like the men who staffed the government bureaucracy. Many of the laypeople who are known to have associated with Chan monks were also officials at some level of government, and the distinction between lay supporter and government representative was not always clear-cut. Although some officials turned to monks for spiritual support and advice and sometimes even acknowledged a particular monk as their master, the power balance was always on the side of the official.

The biography of Hongzhi by Wang Boxiang, for example, tells of an encounter Hongzhi had with a local official when he had set out to travel around to visit various Chan masters. According to this story, Hongzhi at some point was detained because his papers were insufficient. When he was brought before the local magistrate, the magistrate realized that Hongzhi was a gifted and educated monk (and no doubt recognized him as someone with a social background similar to his own). The magistrate then held out his fan to Hongzhi and asked him to write a "turning word" (*zhuanyu*), that is, an enlightening saying, on it. Hongzhi obliged and wrote a *gāthā* on the fan that greatly pleased the magistrate. When Hongzhi in this way had proven his abilities and pedigree, the magistrate obtained papers for him and let him continue on his travels.[3] Whether or not this story is based on

an actual event, it demonstrates what Hongzhi and other young and promising monks must have been aware of from an early age: for a monk to be successful in elite Buddhism, he had to accommodate the whims of state representatives and be adept in the arts of poetry writing and conversation that the educated elite valued. And if he wanted to obtain appointments to prestigious monasteries, a monk had to have supporters among officials and cultivate the right people. Of course, this relationship may not always have seemed very satisfactory to Buddhist monks. Furong Daokai, for example, in the text on monastic discipline that he wrote after being exiled for refusing imperial honors, emphasized that monks should not go to vegetarian banquets or seek donations from lay donors but should remain on their mountains, aloof from the rest of the world. One perhaps senses some disillusionment in this piece, and it obviously paints a picture of monastic life that was very different from the one Daokai himself led.[4]

Because government officials and influential local literati had control over appointments to the abbacies of public monasteries, their support was crucial to Chan masters. In order to give transmission to his students and thus perpetuate his lineage, a Chan master had to be the holder of an abbacy of a public monastery, and so the educated elite came to effectively control the procreative success of individual Chan lineages. This set the stage for at times vigorous competition for lay support between Chan masters and between different Chan lineages. In chapter 6, I discussed a number of examples of Dahui Zonggao trying to sway members of the literati against the silent illumination of the new Caodong tradition. However, Dahui also was in contact with several other literati who had associated with Caodong masters. One example is Xiang Zijin. It was Xiang who invited Hongzhi to become the abbot at Puzhao monastery (and had a prophetic dream about him), and afterward, in 1134, he wrote a postscript to a collection of Hongzhi's gongan commentaries. Later in his life, however, Xiang also seems to have had close connections with Dahui. Dahui wrote an inscription for a pavilion Xiang had built in 1147.[5] In 1149, Dahui wrote a letter to Xiang that does not mention silent illumination but that stresses the difference between someone who is enlightened and someone who is not and emphasizes the need for a breakthrough enlightenment.[6] Other examples of literati who had connections with Caodong masters and to whom Dahui wrote letters or had other interactions are Zhao Lingjin, who wrote an epitaph for Hongzhi;[7] Han Ju, who is said to have written an epitaph for the Caodong nun Miaohui Huiguang (d.u.);[8] and Feng Ji, who wrote an inscription for Dahong Baoen's descendant Shousui.[9] Even Zhang Shangying, who was a loyal supporter of Dahui and the Linji tradition, wrote an inscription that included much praise for Baoen. The implication is not only that the Linji and Caodong traditions competed for the patronage of the same interested literati but also that the literati themselves felt they could associate with any Chan master they pleased and rarely saw a need to identify themselves with a particular tradition of Chan.

Furthermore, Chan's own rhetoric seems to have convinced many literati that they had a understanding of Chan equal to, or even surpassing, that of much of the Chan monastic community.[10] Clearly, a whole range of different attitudes and commitments characterized the secular elite who were interested in Buddhism, and it is in most cases not easy to classify members of the educated elite as "lay followers" or even "Buddhists." Many of the officials and literati who seem to have chosen to involve themselves in the appointment of monks to abbacies are not known to have had any other interest in Buddhism. At the same time, among the literati who had frequent interactions with elite monks are a number who also are on record as having been highly critical of Buddhism, and although some criticism was part of formalistic expectations for essay writing, clearly quite a few literati held conflicting feelings about Buddhism and Chan. The majority of the educated elite in the Song, it seems, at best had a casual interest in Buddhism. That is to say, they did not actively pursue specific Buddhist or Chan soteriological goals, they were not invested in Buddhist doctrinal concerns, and they did not have especially close relationships with elite monastics. On the other hand, almost all literati were acquainted with Buddhist literature and with the special literature of the Chan school, and no doubt many of them read newly published transmission histories or recorded sayings collections with a fair amount of interest.

Chan masters, therefore, had to appeal to a broad segment of the elite, not just to a small group of committed Chan enthusiasts. Although manuscripts still circulated in the Song, it was the new form of printed texts that made wide dissemination of a Chan master's sermons and writing possible, and Chan was, ironically perhaps, in a very real way dependent on this new media for its continued success. The culture of books that emerged in the Song facilitated (and was itself fueled by) the broad interests of many literati. Buddhist texts seem to have been at the forefront of this development, and publication became a crucial way for Chan masters to reach a wider audience, enhance their prestige and fame, and acquire vital support from members of the educated elite. There is little doubt that Chan's success among the educated elite was intimately connected to its special literature. The dramatic, shocking, and puzzling character of the encounter dialogue that was recorded in the transmission histories and in the individual recorded sayings collections of Song Chan masters clearly tantalized many literati. The lyrical quality found in Hongzhi's prose and in other writings of the new Caodong tradition that celebrated inherent Buddha-nature also must have been attractive to many readers, while Dahui's straightforward and forceful insistence on a breakthrough enlightenment similarly commanded a broad appeal—and not necessarily for different individuals.

As I argued in chapter 3, support from individual officials and local literati became more important than ever for the Chan school from the twelfth century onward due to changes in the state's policies that made it less favorable toward Chan and due to what appears to have been the edu-

cated elite's greater involvement in affairs at the local level. The architects of the new Caodong tradition must have been quite aware that support from literati and local officials had become even more important than support from the state. Their efforts in crafting a viable lineage supported by solid hagiographies, establishing the Caodong tradition as legitimate and prestigious, were especially pitched to the literati. The masters of the new Caodong tradition were no doubt also conscious of the great importance of being able to impress members of the educated elite with their learning and literary skills, as well as their social skills, devotion, and integrity. It makes perfect sense in this context for Daokai to have disobeyed the emperor and refused the honors bestowed on him—an action that underscored his commitment to a pure monastic life and his personal moral uprightness, and which seems to have greatly enhanced Daokai's prestige in the eyes of the literati.

Also in the twelfth century, a greater interest in personal transformation and development seems to have emerged among the literati class. The trends in Confucian thought known as Neo-Confucianism became increasingly influential beginning in this period and attracted many members of the educated elite. However, interest in Buddhism and Daoism was also high among literati, and the majority of the educated elite did not feel they had to confine their interests to one particular tradition of learning. We must not be misled by the anti-Buddhist rhetoric of the leading Confucian thinkers, who felt compelled to rail against Buddhism precisely because it was such a presence in literati society.

While in the Tang and the early part of the Song many members of the educated elite may have enjoyed refined conversation and the exchange of poetry with well-known monks, and while a number of them seem to have internalized a devout Buddhist worldview,[11] there is little indication that it was common at the time for laypeople to be involved in serious Buddhist meditation practice.[12] It seems to have been fairly unusual for literati to study meditation with Buddhist masters prior to the twelfth century. But there are various signs that by the Southern Song a number of educated laypeople had become interested in practicing Buddhist meditation. The greater accessibility of Chan texts no doubt contributed to many literati's becoming more seriously interested in Chan Buddhist practice and the pursuit of enlightenment. It is noteworthy that Zongze's *Zuochan yi* was included in the *Dazang yilan,* a work mainly compiled for laypeople. In fact, it is quite possible that laypeople were originally the main target audience for Zongze's text. His meticulous description of the correct meditation posture would probably have been superfluous for those living in monasteries where meditation was practiced, but it would have been very useful to laypeople. Note also that Zongze never uses terms for practitioners in his text that would specifically indicate monastics; rather, he addresses, for example, "the Bodhisattva who studies wisdom."[13] Zongze in general seems to have been interested in promoting lay practice, and he is known to have authored

other texts, such as the *Zaijia xingyi* (Deportment for laypeople), that must have been written specifically for a lay audience.[14] In any case, the *Zuochan yi,* especially after its inclusion in the *Dazang yilan,* is itself likely to have spurred further interest in meditation among the literati.

The new Caodong tradition of the twelfth century seems to have adapted to the new trend of a more active literati interest in Chan soteriology and meditation. Not only did members of the new Caodong tradition have to impress the literati with their illustrious lineage and personal qualities, but to be truly successful, the newly emergent Caodong tradition also had to offer an approach to Chan Buddhist practice that was attractive to the elite and distinctive enough to give the tradition an identity of its own. I have argued that Daokai did so by developing a style of teaching that strongly emphasized the Buddhist doctrine that all sentient beings are already endowed with perfect and untainted Buddha-nature and that taught monastics and literati alike to devote themselves to a still meditation in which inherent Buddha-nature would spontaneously manifest. It is this approach that came to be called "silent illumination Chan," and it was clearly a crucial element in the success of the twelfth-century Caodong tradition. The new Caodong tradition must have tapped into the increased interest in meditation among literati, and it is even possible that monks in the new Caodong tradition were the first Chan masters to teach meditation to laypeople on a broader scale and thus were leading the trend. Although meditation had always been a part of Chan monastic practice, through much of the Northern Song, Chan had implicitly stressed gongan study and the attainment of dramatic enlightenment. This emphasis might have made it appear that it was only really monks who could fully study Chan. It also carried with it the depressing message that as long as one was not enlightened, nothing was right: this lifetime was basically a failure for those who never achieved enlightenment. The Caodong teachings of silent illumination must have seemed an inviting alternative to many literati (and, of course, many monastics as well). Here was a practice that laypeople could do, even if they were not able to have frequent encounters with an enlightened master. By emphasizing the inherent Buddha-nature present in all sentient beings while de-emphasizing the need to strive for a moment of enlightenment, and by teaching that in meditation one could somehow experience the realm of awakening, the Caodong masters especially appealed to the needs of the literati.

Various kinds of indications can be found in surviving sources that masters in the twelfth-century Caodong tradition were giving meditation instructions to members of the educated elite. There are a few instances in which Caodong masters appear to exhort a lay audience to practice meditation, as when Qingliao told his listeners to "sit in their rooms" and "be like dry wood, or a stone, or a wall, or a piece of tile, or a pebble,"[15] or when Zhenru Daohui instructed his audience to "return home and sit firmly."[16] Also, when Liu Zihui's poem honoring Qingliao states, "Since following

the teaching style of silent realization, I have fallen into a state of freely roaming in Chan,"[17] we get the distinct impression that Liu is referring to the experience of meditation. The most abundant evidence that the new Caodong tradition taught meditation in a silent illumination style to literati, however, is found in the writings of Dahui. Dahui's attacks on silent illumination almost exclusively occur in his writings directed to members of the literati or in sermons requested by literati, where the attacks are usually accompanied by advocacy of kanhua meditation.[18] This is true in the material from Dahui's first tenure at Jingshan, which he took up after he had been in Fujian and had begun his criticism of silent illumination, and it is also true of his later letters and recorded sayings dating to after his exile.[19] In those of Dahui's sermons that seem to be mainly directed to monastics, he rarely mentions silent illumination.[20] It is obvious that Dahui was especially concerned about the ill effects of silent illumination on literati, and it is also clear that he saw silent illumination both as a particular understanding of Buddhist doctrine and, even more important, as a method of meditation (albeit a heretical one). The frequency of Dahui's attacks, which, beginning 1134, he continued through his entire career, shows that the Caodong tradition must have had a substantial number of literati followers who practiced meditation in silent illumination style. At the same time, Dahui's letters and sermons directed to literati show that a number of laypeople also were studying meditation under Dahui's tutelage.

Still, we must not imagine that large segments of the educated elite were diligently meditating or that literati commonly were becoming "disciples" of a particular Chan master or Chan lineage. Rather, literati who engaged in serious (or even not-so-serious) meditation practice were probably always a small minority of those who had an interest in Buddhism, and, as noted above, few literati seem to have felt the need to pledge their loyalty to a specific master or tradition of Chan. Nevertheless, the more literati could be persuaded that a particular tradition of Chan held a special claim to authority and orthodoxy, the better the lineages of that tradition would fare. Dahui's attempts to convince literati that his dramatic approach to practice and breakthrough enlightenment was the only correct one may have been somewhat unusual in their outspokenness, but no doubt twelfth-century Caodong masters also did their best to persuade educated laypeople that their silent illumination approach was the superior one. I argue that this competition for the minds and support of literati gave rise to a quite unprecedented sectarianism in the Southern Song that culminated with Dahui's attacks on silent illumination.

Evidence of this sectarian climate abounds. In Hongzhi's biography of Zhenxie Qingliao, for example, we hear of how Qingliao, after receiving his transmission from Danxia Zichun, visited a number of Chan masters in the Linji tradition and served in monastic office under a master from the Yunmen tradition. However, in Hongzhi's own biographies, Hongzhi is depicted as having studied only with Caodong masters.[21] If we see Hongzhi's biogra-

phies as the product of the religious climate around the time of his death, it suggests that a more sectarian consciousness had come to pervade the Caodong tradition and probably Chan Buddhism in general. This heightened sectarian awareness can no doubt be linked to the differentiating strategies of silent illumination and kanhua Chan.

In spite of all this, the amicable view of the Chan school as one large clan descending from a single ancestor was never totally abandoned. As vociferous as Dahui's attacks were, he seems to have been careful not to actually name the Caodong tradition and its masters in most of them, and, as we have seen, he even had some words of praise for Hongzhi. Hongzhi, for his part, made gestures of goodwill toward Dahui, even as he must have been keenly aware of Dahui's attacks. Clearly, members of neither the Linji nor the Caodong tradition saw an advantage in all-out confrontation. Such a confrontation would no doubt have greatly hurt the standing of the whole Chan school with both the state and the large majority of the literati. As it was, the conflict between Dahui on one side and Qingliao and Hongzhi on the other, remembered in several sources, probably did not enhance the prestige of the Chan school in the later Southern Song, and it may well have contributed to the decline that seems to have beset the fortunes of Chan toward the end of the dynasty.

The factional mode in Chan outlived actual differences in practice and teachings, and there is evidence of it into the seventeenth century.[22] A strong sectarian note is found in the recorded sayings of the thirteenth-century Linji monk Xueyan Zuqin (1216–1287), who clearly showed his low regard of the Caodong tradition in his time, reporting that its teachings were so deadening that few students stayed with it. Interestingly, Zuqin complained that the Caodong masters taught disciples to concentrate on the gongan about "whether a dog has the Buddha-nature," telling them to balance the word *wu* (no) on the tip of their noses in order to achieve tranquility.[23] Already the Caodong master Tiantong Rujing, who became the master of Dōgen, the founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school, told his students to use Zhouzhou's *wu* to "sweep out their minds."[24] This gives a strong indication of just how successful Dahui was in his advocacy of kanhua Chan. In some ways, Dahui also won the battle against silent illumination, and the term itself was never again used in Chan writings in a positive sense. However, Dahui's victory was not complete. Silent illumination–style meditation seems to have been accepted as completely valid in later Chinese Buddhism (although the term was not used), and together with kanhua Chan it has persisted down to the present day as a legitimate mode of meditation. In Japan, however, the Sōtō and Rinzai schools came to largely adopt the viewpoints of the twelfth-century Caodong and Linji traditions, respectively, and part of the reason that the conflict between silent illumination and kanhua Chan is still so keenly remembered today is that its memory has been kept alive in Japanese Zen.

Notes

Abbreviations

Chuandeng lu	*Jingde chuandeng lu*
Dahui nianpu	*Dahui Pujue chanshi nianpu*
Dahui pushuo	*Dahui Jue chanshi pushuo*
Dahui yulu	*Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu*
Dahui zongmen wuku	*Dahui Pujue chanshi zongmen wuku*
"Daie nenpu"	"Daie Fukaku zenji nenpu no kenkyū"
DNK	*Dai Nihon kōtei daizōkyō*
"En chanshi taming"	"Suizhou Dahong En chanshi taming"
Foguo Keqin xinyao	*Foguo Keqin chanshi xinyao*
Guangdeng lu	*Tiansheng guangdeng lu*
Hongzhi guanglu	*Hongzhi chanshi guanglu*
"Kai chanshi taming"	"Suizhou Dahongshan Chongning Baoshou chanyuan shifang dierdai Kai chanshi taming"
Liandeng huiyao	*Zongmen liandeng huiyao*
Platform Sūtra	*Liuzu tanjing*
Pudeng lu	*Jiatai pudeng lu*
Qixin lun	*Dasheng qixin lun*
Sengbao zhuan	*Chanlin sengbao zhuan*
Siku quanshu	*Wenyuan ge siku quanshu*
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
Tiaofa shilei	*Qingyuan tiaofa shilei*
Xudeng lu	*Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu*
XZJ	*Xu zang jing*. The page numbers cited are those on the orginal pages, not those added by the publishers of the *Xu zang jing*.

Introduction

1. I use here the well-known Japanese term "Zen" as a shorthand for the teachings, ideology, and literature of all the East Asian schools of Buddhism that traced their ancestry back to the Chinese Chan lineage (in Korea known as "Sŏn"). In this book, I will use "Chan" when discussing developments in China and "Zen" or "Sŏn" when specifically referring to Japan or Korea.

2. See, e.g., sections 20 and 25 of the famous Northern Song (Bei Song, 960–1127) scroll, the *Qingming shanghe tu,* thought to depict Kaifeng, in Hansen, *Beijing Qingming Scroll.*

3. See, e.g., Lu You's (1125–1210) praise of the Yuwang monastery in Mingzhou in his *Weinan wenji,* 19.1a–2b. Cited in Xinru Liu, "Buddhist Institutions," 36. Lu You attributed the favorable influences of the Yuwang monastery at least partly to the presence of samples of the emperor Renzong's calligraphy. Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 147.

4. In what is still the only comprehensive discussion of Chinese Buddhism in English, Kenneth Ch'en's *Buddhism in China,* the section dealing with post-Tang Buddhism is entitled "Decline," while the chapter on the Song is called "Memories of a Great Tradition." In the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion,* Erik Zürcher wrote: "In late imperial times [from the Song through the Qing, 960–1912] . . . Buddhism declined steadily, though not in quantitative terms. . . . The decline was mainly intellectual. . . . This shift ultimately reduced Buddhism to a despised creed of the lower classes, with the exception of Ch'an, which in a much petrified form maintained its popularity in some intellectual circles. The doctrinal impoverishment of Chinese Buddhism is also shown by the disappearance of most of the schools of T'ang Buddhism. There was a general tendency toward syncretism and mutual borrowing." "Buddhism in China," in Eliade and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 2:414–420. This passage is not found in the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion,* ed. Lindsay Jones.

5. Still, one might argue that the study of a declining religious tradition may offer just as many important insights as the study of a flourishing one.

6. For a set of essays in English dealing with different aspects of Song Buddhism, see Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung.*

7. The Chinese understanding of tathāgatagarbha doctrine is most significantly expressed in the apocryphal *Qixin lun,* T 32.575–583.

8. *Yuanren lun,* T 45.710a11–16. The translation is from Gregory, *Tsung-mi,* 165, with minor changes.

9. On this, see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural.*

10. See Hansen, *Changing the Gods,* esp. 79–104.

11. Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone."

12. See the biography of Furong Daokai, discussed in chapter 4.

13. See the works of Levering, Hsieh, Halperin, and ter Haar listed in the bibliography.

14. *Fozu tongji,* T 49.406c15–16. Cited in Levering, "Miao-Tao."

15. In the charts in *Zengaku daijiten,* vol. 3, just over twenty nuns from the Song can be counted—a very small number compared to the thousands of monks listed.

16. See Cherniack, "Book-Culture and Textual Transmission."

17. See Liu and Shen, *Xiancun Songren zhushu zonglu.*

18. For some discussion of this genre, see Shinohara, "Two Sources."

19. This last aspect is explored in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister.*

20. During the last stages of working on this study, I have been fortunate enough to have had access to the full-text retrieval system of the *Siku quanshu*

(Wenyuan ge edition) electronic database developed by Digital Heritage in Hong Kong.

21. For information on both extant and lost Chan texts, see the monumental work by Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki.*

22. See the *Zhizhai shulu jieti,* 12.13b. This note is repeated in Ma Duanlin's (ca. 1250–1325) more famous *Wenxian tongkao,* 227.15a. Cited in Guo Peng, *Song Yuan fojiao,* 29.

23. See the list in Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 603–635.

24. I will refer to these entries as "records" rather than the commonly used term "biographies," because most contain no biographical information.

25. Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association, http://www.cbeta.org.

26. In this book, I use the term "lay" for people who in one way or another interacted with Buddhist monks, nuns, or institutions but who themselves were not monastics. I do not mean to imply any level of "faith" in Buddhism or other commitment. It should be noted that in the Song, the distinction between lay and monastic was in itself not always clear. For example, some people would purchase ordination certificates in the hope of gaining tax exemptions but still live lay lives, while others would remain unordained but live lives very much like those of monastics. For some discussion, see ter Haar, *White Lotus,* esp. 16–63.

27. Although each chapter forms part of the overall argument of this book, I have attempted to present the material in the chapters in such a way that they also can be read independently of one another. The reader should therefore feel free to go directly to chapters of special interest.

Chapter 1: Chan Buddhism in the Song

1. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.1a–207d. Jianzhong Jingguo was Huizong's first reign period.

2. The dates of virtually all early Chan figures are uncertain. I am here following McRae, *Seeing through Zen.*

3. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.19c. Adapted from the translation by Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao."

4. See chapter 2 for details about this persecution.

5. *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.298a–451d.

6. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.196–467. The preface of the work is dated 1004, but indications are that the work was not published until 1009. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 19, for this date. The Taishō edition is based on the 1316 edition, which itself was based on an 1134 edition. This edition seems overall to be close to the 1009 edition, but some changes were made. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 116–118.

7. The list of Indian patriarchs was not finalized until the tenth century, when the 952 *Zutang ji* adopted the list of patriarchs from the *Baolin zhuan* from 801. See the photographically reproduced *Zutang ji* in Yanagida, *Sodōshū,* 1.2–3. (All references to the *Zutang ji* hereafter follow the plate-numbering system in Yanagida's edition.) See the tables with differing versions of the lineage in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū,* insert in back of book. See also the discussion in Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* 8–9.

8. Huineng's story is most famously told in the *Liuzu tanjing,* a work that exists in several different versions. See below.

9. Depending on the context, I translate the term *zong* as "lineage," "school," or "tradition." The graph is a roof over a sign or an omen, and among its earliest documented meanings are "ancestral temple," "ancestor," and "clan." See Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa,* no. 1003a–e, p. 264. The term was used to mean an "extended family descending from a single ancestor" by the secular elite in the Song and earlier, and as McRae puts it, in Buddhism it came to be used in the sense of "the essential teaching of Buddhism as transmitted through a specific lineage from the Buddha Śākyamuni," such as in the Chan *zong* or the Tiantai *zong.* See John R. McRae, "Buddhism, Schools of: Chinese Buddhism," in Jones, *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 1238. See also the discussion in Foulk, "Ch'an *Tsung.*"

10. The formula in this form is first found in the *Zuting shiyuan* by Muan Shanqing, compiled in 1108. See XZJ 113.66c. For a discussion of the origin of the individual phrases, see Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū,* 470–482.

11. On the transmission of Chan to Japan, see Imaeda, *Chūsei zenshū shi no kenkyū,* and Collcutt, *Five Mountains.* For a discussion of Chan's reception in Korea, see Buswell, "Ch'an Hermeneutics."

12. For a traditionalist view, see, e.g., the monumental work by Nukariya Kaiten, *Zengaku shisō shi.* In English, the works by D. T. Suzuki were especially influential, and they continue to have an impact on popular conceptions of Chan and Zen. See, e.g., his three-volume *Essays in Zen Buddhism,* still in print after three-quarters of a century.

13. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice."

14. This is John McRae's rendition of *jiyuan wenda,* a term coined by Yanagida Seizan that cannot be found in any premodern Chan source. See McRae, "Antecedents of Encounter Dialogue," 47.

15. The most thorough discussion available of the term gongan is found in Foulk, "Form and Function." See also Morten Schlütter, "Kōan," in Buswell, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism,* 526–529, and the discussion in chapter 5.

16. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.258a3–7.

17. Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu, T 47.562c. Translated in App, Master Yunmen, 203.

18. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.322a11–12.

19. The discrepancy between early and later depictions of Mazu was first noted in Chappell, "Hermeneutical Phases," 197. See also Poceski, "*Mazu yulu*" and "Hongzhou School," 98–102. Cf. Zongmi's critique of Mazu's Hongzhou Chan as discussed in Gregory, *Tsung-mi,* 234–252.

20. This is noted in Poceski, "Hongzhou School," 103. See the *Zutang ji,* 4.33–44.

21. A number of written works pertaining to the history of early Chan were found in a cache of manuscripts and manuscript fragments that was discovered in 1900 in the Buddhist caves near Dunhuang, an oasis in western Gansu province. Several expeditions, especially those from England and France, obtained a large number of documents from the cave. See Fujieda, "Tunhuang Manuscripts." See also Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū.*

22. For an analysis of how the different extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* are related, see Schlütter, "Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra.*"

23. See the discussion in Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice."

24. There are indications that already at the time of the Tiantai monk Zhanran (711–782), followers of the Tiantai school were attacking the Chan school. It is not clear whether the Chan school's notion of its transmission line was directly targeted at Zhanran's time, but in the Northern Song it became the subject of severe criticism from the Tiantai school. See Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der Buddhistischen Schulen,* 71, 76–81.

25. I here use the term "sectarian" in the sense of a group's strong awareness of being in possession of an orthodox understanding and practice, as opposed to other groups that are deemed heterodox.

26. The following is mainly based on the discussions in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū;* McRae, *Northern School* and "Shen-hui"; and Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra.* Although the last work is slightly dated, it contains a very clear outline of the texts and persons involved.

27. See McRae, *Northern School,* 118–149, for a discussion of the basic doctrines of the East Mountain teaching, which he defines as the Chan of the early eighth century in the vicinity of the two Tang capitals.

28. Ibid., 41, points out that in references to Hongren, no practice other than meditation is ever mentioned.

29. The "Rudao anxinyao fangbian famen," included in the *Lengqie shizi ji,* is usually attributed to Daoxin; see T 85.1286c–1289b and the critical edition with Japanese translation in Yanagida, *Shoki no zen shi I,* 186–268. See also Chappell, "Teachings of the Fourth Ch'an Patriarch," for a discussion and an English translation. The *Xiuxin yaolun* is presented as containing the teachings of Hongren and is known from several sources. See McRae, *Northern School,* 120–147, for a discussion and translation of the text, and 1–16 (Chinese pagination in the back of the book) for an edition of the original Chinese. McRae disputes the notion that the two texts actually can be attributed to Daoxin and Hongren.

30. Penkower, "In the Beginning."

31. *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* T 50.606b21–22.

32. The epitaph is anonymous and undated, but it would seem to have been written shortly after Faru's death. See Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū,* 487–496, for an annotated edition, and 35–47 for discussion of the text and of Faru. See also McRae, *Northern School,* 85–86, for partial translation into English.

33. This is suggested in Foulk and Sharf, "Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture," and is also accepted in Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-Neng,* 50.

34. A number of written works that reflect the struggle for leadership status among Hongren's disciples were found in the cache of manuscripts and manuscript fragments that was discovered at Dunhuang.

35. For an annotated and critically edited version of Shenxiu's epitaph, see Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū,* 497–516. The passage describing Hongren sanctioning Shenxiu is translated into English in McRae, *Northern School,* 48.

36. The story of Shenhui's crusade was first brought to light in Hu, *Shenhui heshang yiji,* and in "Development of Zen Buddhism." For a recent discussion, see

McRae, "Shen-hui." As McRae points out, there was no "Northern school" until Shenhui started talking about it.

37. *Lengqie shizi ji,* T 85.1289c9–17. See also Yanagida, *Shoki no zen shi I,* 273. The *Lengqie shizi ji* is the only early source not connected with Shenhui that mentions Huineng. However, Shenhui accused Puji of having forged this work, and it may have been written partly in response to Shenhui's attacks.

38. For a discussion of Shenhui's life and teachings that takes into account recently discovered material, see McRae, "Shen-hui."

39. Zeuschner, "Philosophical Criticisms"; McRae, "Shen-hui," 246–251.

40. See Jorgensen, "'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," for some interesting theories on the reasons for Shenhui's success.

41. McRae, "Shen-hui," 256.

42. The earliest extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* were found at Dunhuang. The most well-known Dunhuang version of the text is reprinted in T 48.337a–345b and can probably be dated to the late eighth century. This version is amended and translated in Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* and is found in several other modern editions. A second similar version from Dunhuang has recently been made available. See Yang Zengwen, *Dunhuang xinben Liuzu tanjing.* The text of the *Platform Sūtra* underwent great change and expansion through subsequent editions. Cf., e.g., the Yuan edition in T 48.345b–365a. See Schlütter, "Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra.*"

43. See *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu,* XZJ 110.434b3–14. See also the text in Kamata, *Zengen shosenshū tojo,* 282. Zongmi saw himself as belonging to Shenhui's lineage and was hardly a disinterested reporter. Jinhua Chen, "One Name, Three Monks," argues that it in fact was the lineage of Mazu Daoyi that came out victorious at the 796 council. In any case, the status of Huineng as the sixth patriarch was confirmed.

44. Not only was the importance of Shenhui in the promotion of Huineng as the sixth patriarch largely forgotten, but Shenhui ended up being treated rather negatively in his brief appearance as a mischievous boy in the received version of the *Platform Sūtra.* See T 48.359b–c and the discussion in Schlütter, "Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra.*"

45. See the *Yuanjue jing dashu chao,* XZJ 14.277c8–280a4. In his *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu,* T 48.400b28–c2 (also in Kamata, *Zengen shosenshū tojo,* 48), Zongmi has a different list of ten Chan groups, but here he does not discuss their ancestry. However, the list includes the group of Shitou Xiqian (700–790) that, later at least, was traced back to Huineng.

46. This is evident in Zongmi's writings. See Foulk, "Ch'an School," 140–147, for a discussion.

47. *Zongmen shigui lun,* XZJ 110.439a–441c. There are some questions about the authenticity of this work. The earliest extant edition of the *Zongmen shigui lun* is a Japanese one from 1756. See *Zengaku daijiten,* 494c, and *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* 5:134d. A postscript to this edition states it was first published in 1346, but there seems to be no mention of this work in Chinese sources. However, the passages I refer to here do not bear the mark of later editors and would have made little sense to a Song-dynasty audience (which may explain why the work was not widely circu-

lated). It seems quite possible that at least parts of the work do date back to the time of Fayan.

48. Instead of "Yunmen," Fayan calls this tradition "Shaoyang," which is the name of the place where Yunmen Wenyan had his monastery. See *Zengaku daijiten,* 589b.

49. Those left out include the descendants of Shishuang Qingzhu (807–888), the descendants of Jiashan Shanhui (805–881), and those who together with Fayan descended from Xuefeng Yicun (822–908), as well as the other descendants of Xuefeng's teacher, Deshan Xuanjian (782–865).

50. *Zongmen shigui lun,* XZJ 110.439d. This is pointed out by Foulk in "Ch'an School," 46.

51. In this passage, the Linji lineage is referred to with a different set of characters also pronounced "Linji." See Inagaki, *Glossary of Zen Terms,* 281.

52. The following is mainly based on Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 62–92, and Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 63–113.

53. See Yunmen's entry in the *Zutang ji,* 3.91–95.

54. It is quite possible that the *Xu baolin zhuan* from 910 may have presented a similar vision of a unified Chan school, but very little is known about this lost work. It appears to have been a source for both the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu.* See Yanagida, "*Sodōshū* no shiryō kachi," and Shiina, "*Sodōshū* no hensei."

55. This view of the creation of the *Zutang ji* has been proposed by Yanagida Seizan. See, e.g., the discussion in *Sodōshū sakuin,* 1567–1606.

56. *Zutang ji,* 1.101–1.111. Of course, these lineages had long died out and posed no threat to the lineages that traced themselves back to Huineng.

57. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 66–70.

58. Shiina, "Sō Gen-dai no shomoku ni okeru zenseki shiryō."

59. The *Chuandeng lu* has a complicated textual history, and none of the versions currently available are identical to the 1009 edition. For a discussion, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 116–118, and Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 8–25.

60. For Fayan's heirs, see *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.407a14–b4, 418b6–24. For Deshao's heirs, see 418c18–419a17. For the heirs of the others, see 419a18–b18.

61. Ibid., 419b19–27.

62. The *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.303a6–b6, lists twenty heirs of Daoqi, and the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 137.17a18–b16, lists thirty-seven.

63. *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.342b–352c.

64. Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 186–206.

65. According to Huihong, it was compiled in the Jiayou period (1056–1064). See the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.220d2–3.

66. *Chuanfa zhengzong ji,* T 51.763c3–11. Such an appended comment was probably more likely to be subject to additions and alterations than was the main body of the text. But a Song edition of the *Zhengzong ji* was collated against a Ming-dynasty (1368–1644) version in the Taishō edition, and no differences in this passage have been noted. Furthermore, the remark is also included in the version of this work in the *Zhonghua dazang jing,* 1.37.32029b, which, according to Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 585, was based on a Yuan edition. Shiina also lists two extant Song editions, but I

have not been able to consult them. For a discussion of Qisong's works, see Morrison, "Ancestors, Authority, and History."

67. See the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.25d–176a, for the section on Yunmen/Linji lineages, and 176a–180c for the section on the Caodong and Fayan lineages.

68. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.221d.

69. *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.296d3.

70. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.786c21–787a9.

71. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.142a15–b14.

72. A wealth of secondary sources on Song history and social history and Song Confucian thought exists in both Western and Asian languages; see the bibliography for a partial list.

73. Bol, This Culture of Ours, 150–151.

74. See the discussion of literati status in Ebrey, *Family and Property,* 4–5.

75. Bossler, *Powerful Relations,* 203–204.

76. The optimistic assessment of Song-dynasty social mobility in Kracke, *Civil Service,* has been tempered by numerous later studies. See, e.g., Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen.*

77. See, e.g., Brook, *Praying for Power,* 31.

78. See, e.g., Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History,* 92–94, and James Liu, *China Turning Inward,* 38–39.

79. Wang Anshi, *Linchuan wenji,* 73.14a–15b, *Siku quanshu,* vol. 1105. Cited in Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* 179–180.

80. See the remarks on this in Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* 180.

81. Bol, This Culture of Ours, 226.

82. Ibid., 225, 426n61. As Bol notes, the creation of a monastery was a relatively common act of filial piety among the wealthy.

83. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* 179.

84. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 111–144.

85. See the remarks on how Zhu Xi (and other classicists like him) were largely out of tune with the culture of their own class in Ebrey, *Family and Property,* 158.

86. *Zhuzi yulei,* 126.3037. Translated in Gardner, "Modes of Thinking," here with minor changes.

87. Ebrey, *Family and Property,* 267; cf. 230. See also Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* 118–119.

88. For example, the famous historian Li Xinchuan (1166–1243) in one inscription demonstrated a thorough knowledge of Chan transmission history literature, even though he seems to have been generally hostile to Buddhism. See the discussion in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 197–199.

89. Ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options" and *White Lotus.*

90. Schlütter, "China's Three Teachings."

91. See, e.g., the work of Robert Gimello, Ding-hwa Hsieh, Miriam Levering, and Albert Welter listed in the bibliography.

92. Yifa, Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes, 103.

93. See Wang Bin (d.u.), "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.34a–36b.

The text is reprinted and translated into literary Japanese in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449.

94. Hsieh, "Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's Teaching," 74.

Chapter 2: The Chan School and the Song State

1. The Latter Zhou occupied approximately the area of China that stretched from Beijing to the Yangzi River.

2. *Wudai huiyao,* 16.204. Cited in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 84. See the discussion of Chikusa's work in Hansen, "Review of Chikusa Masaaki."

3. For the text of this edict, see Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 104n2.

4. Ibid., 84.

5. The ban was repeated in 984 and 1018. See ibid., 84, 90. The Southern Song code, the *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei,* 51.485c, states that building a monastery carried the penalty of two years of hard labor.

6. For a discussion of one Song emperor's interest in Buddhism, see Schlütter, "China's Three Teachings."

7. See the Song Chan monastic code, the *Chanyuan qinggui,* in Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 257. Translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 216. The *Chanyuan qinggui* is also found in XZJ 111.438a–471c, but the critical edition cited above is much preferable, and I will refer to it in this book.

8. The rituals were performed by secular officials with the participation of Buddhist monastics. See Halperin, "Buddhist Temples."

9. See, e.g., ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options."

10. See, e.g., the remarks in Gu, *Songdai fojiao shigao,* 4.

11. See Sen, "Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations."

12. For the monastery at Taizu's birthplace, see the *Song huiyao jigao, daoshi* 2.10b (Xinwenfeng edition, 7879c).

13. Their construction was ordered in 1053 by the emperor Renzong. See ibid., *li* 13.2a–b (Xinwenfeng edition, 560b). Cited in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 149.

14. Halperin, "Buddhist Temples."

15. McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China,* 75–79.

16. This was not an idle concern. See the discussion of some Buddhist-led rebellions in Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy."

17. For in-depth discussion of the social control exercised by the Song state, see McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China.*

18. In a table listing the monastic population at different times during the Song, the *Fozu tongji,* T 49.465c13–23, notes that there were 397,615 registered monks and 61,240 nuns during the reign of emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). However, the numbers of registered monastics cited here declined during the Song, and by the time of the emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162), the *Fozu tongji* reports just 200,000 monks (no number given for nuns). The decline must at least partly have been due to the greater percentage of unregistered monastics as the dynasty progressed.

19. For example, almost 5 percent of the best land in Taizhou was owned by

Buddhist monasteries. Xinru Liu, "Buddhist Institutions." See also Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 94–141.

20. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 142–186.

21. See his *Tanjin wenji,* T 52.658b. Cited in Yü, *Renewal of Buddhism,* 163.

22. *San Tendai Godai san ki,* year 1072, eighth month, twenty-eighth day; see Hirabayashi, *"San Tendai Godaisan ki."* Cited in Borgen, "*San Tendai Godai San Ki.*" The age restriction rule does not seem to have been widely enforced.

23. Parts of the following discussion were previously presented in Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries."

24. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 44. Gernet points out that unregistered monasteries were the first to be affected by anti-Buddhist policies, but his discussion also shows that there were many such monasteries, indicating that most of the time they were left alone.

25. Ibid., 43–44.

26. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 57.

27. Thus, in 778, an official proposed that all monasteries without a plaque be destroyed. See the *Jiu Tang shu,* 127.3579. Cited in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 45.

28. See *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki,* fasc. 4, seventh month, fifteenth day, year 844, p. 446. Translated in Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels,* 344–348. Cited in Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang,* 126. See also Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 45, 304.

29. Name plaque granting in the Song dynasty is discussed in Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 57–60; Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 83–110; and Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 302–305. Chikusa clearly sees Song name plaque granting as a way of registering monasteries, and this is echoed by Huang.

30. See the table in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 109; and Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 304–305. After the humiliating peace treaty with the Liao in 1005, Zhenzong began a series of massive rituals and religious construction to assert imperial authority. See Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 149.

31. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 98–99.

32. See the text of the edicts in *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian,* 91.2109–10; quoted in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 106n10.

33. See Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 103, for remarks about how unregulated monasteries became increasingly numerous toward the end of the Song.

34. Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 304. Hansen, *Changing the Gods,* 85, notes that temples for popular gods under the Southern Song were not necessarily considered illegal, even if they were not registered. Registration was a final measure of accreditation for a cult. It seems that, in practice, small Buddhist monasteries were viewed the same way.

35. However, it was often claimed of new monasteries that they had been established during earlier dynasties. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 100.

36. Jiang Xiufu, *Zazhi,* in *Shuofu,* 2.13a. Cited in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 89.

37. *Su Weigong wenji,* 17.16b. Cited in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 94.

38. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 100.

39. Ibid., 96.

40. In using the English terms "hereditary" and "public," I am following Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism.* It should be noted that Welch's study is concerned with the Republican period and that the monastic system and the connotations of the terms "hereditary" and "public" were in many ways very different in the Song dynasty.

41. Again, I am adopting this term from Welch. See ibid., esp. 129–134.

42. See the following chapter for more discussion of tonsure families.

43. On this work, see the entry by W. Eichhorn in Hervouet, *Sung Bibliography,* 180–181. Two versions of the *Tiaofa shilei* are known, a manuscript held at the Tōhō bunka kenkyūsho, which is reproduced in the Xinwengfeng edition that I have used, and a print edition formerly at Yenching University, now presumably at Beijing University. The Buddhism and Daoism section of the *Tiaofa shilei* of the latter version is reproduced in Eichhorn, *Beitrag zur Rechtlichen Stellung,* which also includes a German translation.

44. *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476d.

45. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 74n4, argues based on this passage that a distinction must be made between *jiayi* (succession) monasteries, where each generation had to be exhausted before the abbacy could be passed on to the next, and *tudi* (disciple) monasteries, where the abbacy would pass from master to disciple. I have not found any evidence for this terminological distinction.

46. *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476d.

47. Ibid., 476b.

48. Ibid., 477a.

49. Ibid., 476b.

50. This is indicated in a 1332 inscription for a Daoist temple. See the *Liangzhe jinshi zhi,* 17.9b–10. Cited in Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 63.

51. In the Southern Song, private grave monasteries, a class of monastery first seen in the Tang, became increasingly common. These monasteries were owned by wealthy families and charged with looking after the family graves. It must be assumed that the abbots of such monasteries commonly were appointed by the family owning them. See Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 111–143, and Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 241–300.

52. *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476a. See also the Buddhist lexicon from 1020, the *Shishi yaolan,* T 54.302b2–3. However, no rule prevented a dharma heir from taking over the abbacy of a public monastery from his master. McRae, *Seeing through Zen,* 116, states that a new abbot at a public Chan monastery "had to belong to a sublineage different from that of his predecessor," but there is much evidence to counter this claim.

53. *Bianzheng lun,* T 52.507b25–c2. Cited in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 4.

54. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 61, states that public monasteries did exist in the Tang but does not elaborate. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," states that public monasteries began in the late Tang and were continued on a local level during the Five Dynasties period but offers no evidence. I am aware of two instances of monasteries reported to have become public under the Tang. An eighteenth-

century record of the Tiantong monastery, the *Tiantong si zhi,* 2.2a, has it that the abbot at Mount Tiantong applied to the government in 847 to have the monastery converted to a public abbacy. Also, the Hongguang-era (1644–1645) *Xuedou si zhi lüe,* 5a, mentions that the monastery at Mount Xuedou became a public Chan monastery in 892. Cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 153n71. Neither of these instances are mentioned in any earlier source, and they can probably be discounted as late attributions, as suggested for the Tiantong case by Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 74n2.

55. See his *Ru Shu ji;* translated in Chang and Smythe, *South China.*

56. There was actually a rule against officials' staying at monasteries, but it was widely ignored. Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 309.

57. *Dongjing meng Hua lu,* 3.3a–4a. Cited in Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu." See also Shiba and Elvin, *Commerce and Society,* 161, and West, "Interpretation of a Dream."

58. For a description of a literati family living in a Buddhist monastery, see the Song-period singing-play *Xixiang ji* by Dong Jieyuan (fl. 1189–1208), translated in Dong, *Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance,* which although set in the Tang clearly reflects customs of the Song. (This work is not to be confused with the better-known Yuan-dynasty play.) In 1115, the well-known scholar Yang Shi (1053–1135) described wistfully in an inscription for a Buddhist monk in Fujian how he had studied for the exams at his monastery. See Yang Shi, *Guishan ji,* 24.18a–19a, cited in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 218–220. See also the discussion in ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options."

59. Ishikawa, "Sōdai chokusha jūjisei shōkō."

60. In the *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1021c, the Chan master Zhenjing Kewen (1025–1102) is reported to have complained that in his day, people would praise an abbot for not appropriating monastic property, as if that were something extraordinary.

61. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 65.

62. *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476c. Here it is also noted that once the officials had chosen an abbot, this person could not be substituted, and even if the monastery with the vacant abbacy had previously been hereditary, these rules still had to be obeyed. For more discussion, see Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries."

63. See the text of the *Chanyuan qinggui,* 263, translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 219. I am happy to here have the opportunity to correct a misstatement in Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries," where I inexplicably claim that the *Chanyuan qinggui* has no description of the selection process for the abbacy. For the description of the selection process in the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui,* see T 48.1130b8–16.

64. Already Qisong (1007–1072) complained that people would sometimes use dubious means to get an abbacy. See his *Tanjin wenji,* T 52.658b.

65. See the *Songshi,* 30.10,391, which tells of an official who, when he became prefect of Fujian in 1077, observed that monks were competing to become abbots at public monasteries and that bribes were common. Cited in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 162.

66. Zhang Shou was a patron of Chan Buddhism and had connections with many of the famous monks of his time. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 3:2228.

67. See the *Song huiyao, shihuo* 26.42b (Xinwenfeng edition, 5240d). Cited in Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 163.

68. The *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476a, set the punishment for those who petitioned to convert a public monastery into a hereditary one to be one hundred strokes with the rod. Those who did it clandestinely received double punishment.

69. Ibid., 476c.

70. See the "Fuyan chanyuan ji" in the Yuan gazetteer *Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi,* 26.7b–9a.

71. This interesting story is described in detail in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 129–163.

72. See the *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu,* T 46.909a–910a, for Zhili's and Yiwen's petition, and 909b20–27 for the petition from their disciples. Cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 138–141.

73. Only by becoming a member of a transmission family could a monastic theoretically become the abbot at his tonsure family's former monastery—an unlikely scenario. See chapter 3.

74. *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu,* T 46.907c. Cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 143–147.

75. *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.477a.

76. Ibid., 476c.

77. Ibid., 476a.

78. For example, a late Southern Song stele records that in 1090 the prefect of Hangzhou changed the monastery at Jingshan into a public institution. See *Liangzhe jinshi zhi,* 10.50b. There is no mention of anyone having petitioned for this.

79. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 60–61.

80. See the "Yunzhou Dongshan Puli chanyuan chuanfa ji," in Yu Jing's *Wuxi ji,* 9.14a–18a. Also reproduced in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 410–419. The text implies that at the time of writing the Puli monastery was a public Chan monastery, although nothing is said about when the conversion took place.

81. See the examples of this in Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati,* 59–113.

82. Yu Jing, "Shaozhou Yuehuashan Huajiesi chuanfa zhuchi ji," in *Wuxi ji,* 9.7b–10a. Other monasteries in the early Song seem to have adopted an informal system of public abbacies. Thus, the Tiantai master Ciyun Zunshi (964–1032) is said to have been made the abbot at the Baoyun monastery by the congregation in Mingzhou in the beginning of the period 990–994. See *Fozu tongji,* T 49.207b7–8; cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 157.

83. *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu,* T 46.909a; cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 130. Getz further remarks on the fluid situation for the classification of monasteries, 150–151.

84. According to the table in Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 67, which is based on information from two local histories of Mingzhou and Taizhou—the *Jiading Chichengxian zhi,* compiled in 1223, and the *Baoqing Siming zhi,* compiled in 1227—there were in the two prefectures a total of 386 public monasteries and 288 hereditary monasteries. This is discounting the 19 nunneries, the status of which I am still unclear about. Cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 135n19.

85. See Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 103, on the proliferation of unregis-

tered monasteries in the Southern Song, which he sees as a significant development, as they later may have become centers for sectarian movements. By comparison, Holmes Welch estimates that only 5 percent of the clergy resided in public monasteries during the period leading up to 1949, meaning that 95 percent of all monks and nuns lived in hereditary monasteries. Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism,* 129.

86. This term may be more accurately translated as "Doctrinal monastery," but the translation "Teaching monastery" is fairly well established in English.

87. It follows that there should be no category of hereditary Chan or Teaching monasteries. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 67, makes the statement that all Chan and Teaching monasteries were public, but then, without explaining why, he voices some uncertainty as to whether this was actually true. Ishikawa, "Sōdai chokusha jūjisei shōkō," 100n16, disputes the notion that Chan and Teaching monasteries were all public, but his evidence points to the very late Song, when these categories may have been breaking down and when public monasteries began to revert back to a hereditary system because of the abuses of the public system. This breakdown of the system also seems to be reflected in the *Yanyou Siming zhi* from 1320, which in its lists of monasteries has a category of "hereditary Teaching monastery" (*jiayi jiaoyuan*). See 16.19a. Cited in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 136n21.

88. "Da Song Suizhou Dahongshan Lingfeng chansi ji," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.7b–10b. Also in *Zimen jingxun,* T 48.1096a–1097a. An annotated version that includes several other editions is found in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 430–437. Ishii does not address any of the questions concerning Vinaya and public monasteries. For sources for Zhang's biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 3:2404.

89. Little else is known about this person. Ishii identifies him with Suizhou Hongshan (d.u.), who is listed, without a record, as a disciple of Mazu in the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.256c. It is also known that Yang Jie (d.u.) wrote an inscription for him, but this is not extant. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 437n3.

90. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.9b; also in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 433.

91. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," 166, states: "The designation 'Vinaya monastery' in the Northern Sung did not apply to public monasteries and thus does not seem to have had anything to do with membership in a Vinaya lineage as such. The term simply refers to monasteries regulated by the Vinaya, that is, ordinary Buddhist monasteries where no particular precedence was given to Ch'an or T'ien-t'ai monks." Foulk also rightly points out that this clearly is the meaning of the passage in the famous "monastic rules" attributed to the Chan master Baizhang (749–814), which state that Chan monks originally lived in Vinaya monasteries. See the text of Baizhang's rules in the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.251c.

92. *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu,* T 46.909c2–5, 909c26–28. See further the discussion in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 139–159.

93. The *Baoqing Siming zhi,* 13.18b, 13.20b, reports that the Jingde monastery received a name plaque in 1007 and that the Xianju monastery was bestowed one in 1008, suggesting that the monasteries became, or already were, public in those years. The 1036 *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.435c, mentions that the Chan master Basheng Qingjian (957–1014) became the abbot at Tiantong late in his life. It would seem that Qingjian must have become the abbot at Tiantong very soon after it had become public. An even earlier abbot at Tiantong was perhaps the Chan master Tiantong

Xin (d.u.), who was Qingjian's fellow disciple under Guizong Yirou (d. 993). Judging from the designation he is given in the transmission histories, Tiantong Xin was an abbot at Tiantong, but no biographical data is available for him. See *Guangdeng lu,* 433a. At Mount Damei, one of the first Chan abbots—perhaps the very first—seems to have been Damei Juxu (d.u.), who, according to the *Guangdeng lu,* 445a, became abbot there in the Dazhong Xiangfu era (1008–1017). All this suggests that around 1010, when Zhili and Yiwen made their petition, the abbacies of Tiantong and Damei were in fact public Chan monasteries.

94. My translation here is based on the meaning "multitude" for *lü,* although I know of nowhere else the term is used to denote a monastic congregation. Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 62, translates "earlier visitors," but that does not seem to make sense in the context.

95. *Li Gou ji,* 24.258–259. Cited in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 62.

96. "Yunzhou Dongshan Puli chanyuan chuanfa ji," in *Wuxi ji,* 9.14b. See also the text in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 410.

97. *Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi,* 26.7b–9a, partially cited in Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 305. The author of the inscription adds that the hereditary system is not the proper way, emphasizing the elite's preference for public monasteries.

98. For example, the *Fozu tongji,* T 49.415b, has an entry under the year 1080 reporting that the Donglin Vinaya monastery in Jiangzhou was, by imperial order, changed into a Chan seat, and the famous Chan master Donglin Changzong (1025–1091, a.k.a. Donglin Zhaojue) was ordered to take the position as abbot. See also the *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.268d, where the same incident is mentioned. I have found more than a hundred instances in Song literature that refer to monasteries converting from Vinaya to Chan.

99. "Jingyan chansi ji," in *Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi,* 18.1b.

100. See, e.g., the *Baoqing Siming zhi,* 11.6a–11d, where such a distinction is made in the lists of monasteries. The *Baoqing Siming zhi* and other gazetteers also have nunneries (*nisi*) as a separate category, which raises a number of interesting questions that cannot be dealt with here.

101. It seems possible that "changing from Vinaya to Chan" at times may simply have meant that a hereditary monastery became public, even if it did not become a Chan monastery, although I have found no evidence that clearly supports this interpretation.

102. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," 94n6, points out that in the Tang, "Chan" in the name of monastery did not imply any connection with the Chan school. This is also true for the Song.

103. This is pointed out in Getz, "Siming Zhili," 44n42. See the petition and the documents granting the plaque in *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu,* T 46.928c–929a.

104. For this law, see the *Song huiyao, shihuo* 12.9a–10a (Xinwenfeng edition, 4998). Cited in Eichhorn, *Beitrag zur Rechtlichen Stellung,* 35. See also Tsukamoto, "Sō no zaiseinan to bukkyō," 27–33; Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 66–67; and Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 34–35. Interestingly, Chan monks were taxed less than the others. Kenneth Ch'en, "Sale of Monk Certificates," suggests that this was because they were thought to engage in productive labor and were therefore not considered parasites to the degree that other monks were. However, as Foulk, "Myth, Ritual,

and Monastic Practice," points out, the importance of manual labor in the Chan school has been greatly exaggerated.

105. See the chart in Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 67, in which public Vinaya monasteries only make up a small fraction of the total.

106. See Dōgen's diary from China, the *Hōkyōki,* in Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 244, and the translation on 130. Dōgen describes a division of public monasteries into Chan, Teaching, and Vinaya monasteries, in addition to the hereditary "disciple" monasteries. He associates the Teaching monasteries exclusively with the Tiantai school.

107. For some discussion of Zhanran Yuanzhao, see Getz, "Popular Religion," 180.

108. According to the table of monasteries in Mingzhou and Taizhou found in Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 67, there were in the two prefectures a total of 187 public Chan monasteries and 199 public Teaching and Vinaya monasteries.

109. *Tiaofa shilei,* "Examination in the canon and ordination" section, 51.467d–472a.

110. Hansen, *Changing the Gods,* 80–81.

111. The Buddhist Chongning monasteries were originally suggested by the premier Cai Jing (1047–1126) in 1103. Shortly afterward, another official suggested Daoist Chongning monasteries be added to the scheme. In 1111, on the emperor Huizong's birthday, the names of the monasteries were changed to Tianning Wanshou (*wanshou* means "great longevity"). See Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 95–97. See also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 240.

112. *Luohu yelu,* XZJ 142.497a.

113. Ibid., 497b. The master is here simply called "Miaozhan."

114. Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang,* 133.

115. *Xu zizhi tongjian,* 90.470b. Cited in Strickmann, "Longest Taoist Scripture."

116. *Fozu tongji,* T 49.419a–b. Cited in Tsukamoto, "Sō no zaiseinan to bukkyō," 81.

117. *Fozu lidai tongzai,* T 49.680a. Cited in Gu, *Songdai fojiao shigao,* 323.

118. Chao, "Huizong."

119. Strickmann, "Longest Taoist Scripture." One example is the Puzhao monastery, half of which was converted into a Shenxiao temple. See chapter 4.

120. Strickmann, "Longest Taoist Scripture."

121. Ibid.; Tsukamoto, "Sō no zaiseinan to bukkyō," 81–92.

122. Tsukamoto, "Sō no zaiseinan to bukkyō," 91.

123. *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji,* 1.16.7b. Cited in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society,* 141.

124. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi,* 42.

125. Ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options."

126. See Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformations," and Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* esp. 200–212. See also Hymes, *Way and Byway.* However, other historians argue that the state continued to exert control over local communities and that the perception of its withdrawal simply has to do with the nature

of surviving Southern Song sources, which tend to emphasize local matters, partly because of the elite's stronger localist vision. See, e.g., Bossler, *Powerful Relations,* 34. I will return to this issue in chapter 3.

127. See, e.g., the several criminal cases involving Buddhist monks in the recently discovered full version of the *Minggong shupan qingmingji,* partially translated in McKnight and Liu, *Enlightened Judgments.*

Chapter 3: Procreation and Patronage in the Song Chan School

1. On "fictive" kinship, see Keesing, *Kin Groups,* 129–130. Of course, the distinction between "fictive" and "real" kinship can itself be a problematic one. In China, where adoption strategies were common in families lacking a male heir, constructed kinship among other social groups seems to have been easily accepted.

2. *Tiaofa shilei,* fasc. 50–51.

3. Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China,* 1:189, 281.

4. It is, of course, important to realize that the Chinese themselves, in the Song and later, quite possibly did not see the two types of fictive kinship I discuss here as typologically similar. It should be noted that tonsure families do not seem to have referred to themselves as *zong,* unlike the Chan tradition and other elite traditions of Buddhism, which saw themselves as in many ways parallel to the great families of the empire. Still, kinship terms were used in both tonsure and transmission families, and the two types of Buddhist families can in many ways be seen as closely related.

5. The word "lineage" as it is commonly used in discussion of Chinese Buddhism differs somewhat from the way this word is used in studies of the Chinese kinship system. I here simply use the word "lineage" to denote a succession of masters and disciples that goes back at least several generations and of which the members of the lineage are acutely aware. Cf. Ebrey and Watson, *Kinship Organization,* 5.

6. The relationship between junior monastics and their masters (*shi*) is stipulated in the 635 *Tang lü shuyi* as that of paternal uncle and nephew. This seems to indicate that the notion of a larger tonsure family was not in place by the time this statute was written. The uncle/nephew analogy is legally significant, as noted in the commentary, because such things as cursing a master were then only punished by one year of penal servitude (instead of strangulation, which would have been the case if the master were considered a parent). *Tang lü shuyi,* 6.28b; translated in Johnson, *T'ang Code,* 57.2a. The Vinaya in the Pali canon allows dependence on a teacher for ten years only. See the translation of the *Mahāvagga* I.32.1 in Horner, *Book of the Discipline,* 4:79.

7. Monasteries in the Tang and earlier were governed by the *sangang* (three supervisors), usually designated as the dean (*shangzuo*), the abbot (*sizhu*), and the overseer (*weina*). This system is mentioned in Zanning's (920–1001) *Dasong sengshi lüe,* T 54.244c16–245a25, and it was still in at least partial use in the early Song. See Xie and Bai, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidu shi,* 174, and Michihata, *Tōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū,* 119–130. The single abbot system may first have been instituted within the Chan school. See Xie and Bai, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidu shi,* 175.

8. See, e.g., the "Fuyan chanyuan ji," in *Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi,* 26.7b–9a.

9. Like in an agnatic descent line, the relatives in the tonsure family had inheritance rights to one another's personal property. *Tiaofa shilei,* 51.487a.

10. See Zhang Shangying's inscription on the Lingfeng monastery, discussed in chapter 2, which notes that its tonsure family traced itself back to the monastery's founder.

11. Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism,* 132, notes that in the Republican period novices could not be trained in a public monastery, but there are many indications that a master's tonsure disciples could be trained in a public monastery in the Song. It can probably be assumed that a Chan master's tonsure disciples would have had inhabitation rights at the hereditary monastery the master was associated with.

12. They are Zhixi (d.u.), who took over the Xiuchan si; Daoyue (d.u.), who took over the Yuquan si; and Zhiyue (543–616), who took over the Guoqing si. *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* T 50.582a, 661, 570c; *Fozu tongji,* T 49.198a, 198c, 197a; Penkower, "In the Beginning."

13. McRae, *Northern School,* 36.

14. Feng Ji was born in Sichuan and was from the same village as Shousui. He became a *jinshi* in 1118. He is considered the dharma heir of Foyan Qingyuan (1067–1120), and he also studied with Dahui Zonggao. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 489, and Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 4:2748. Feng Ji is mentioned in several Buddhist works; see the list in Ishii, "Jūisshu zuihitsushū jinmei." He also compiled a now-lost poetic gongan commentary (*songgu*) collection in the manner of a Chan master. See Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 617.

15. The title of the inscription is damaged; it ends in "Jingyan heshang taji." In *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 11.21a–26a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 479–489; also summarized on 257.

16. Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 101.

17. Rong Ni (active 1162), "Suizhou Dahongshan diliudai zhuchi Huizhao chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 11.16b–19a. An annotated and collated version is found in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 491–497.

18. For an in-depth discussion of the legend of Mahākāśyapa's transmission, see Welter, "Mahākāśyapa's Smile."

19. For a discussion of the formation of the Song Tiantai lineage, see Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History."

20. The vast majority of books on Chan and Zen are centered on such gongan. For a recent collection of scholarly essays on gongan/kōan, see Heine and Wright, *Kōan.* The concept of gongan is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5 of the present book.

21. Translation tentative.

22. *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.328a9–17. For a different translation of a slightly different version of the story, see Cheng-Chien, *Sun-Face Buddha,* 100–102.

23. However, in other ways, the readers are also strangely privileged as participants in the whole story in a way no bystander could be. For an insightful discussion of "reading" in Chan, see Dale S. Wright, *Philosophical Meditations,* 20–62.

24. See Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* 133, for the translation, and 4–5 for the Chinese text.

25. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China,* 247, emphasizes, following Takao, *Sōdai*

bukkyō shi, that it became common in Song China for Buddhist monastics to only take the novice (*shami*) ordination. However, all the elite monastics I have studied are said to have taken the full ordination.

26. For examples of biographical accounts that tend to follow this pattern, see the collection of inscriptions reproduced in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 410–552.

27. See, e.g., the epitaph for Kumu Facheng (1071–1128) in *Beishan ji,* 32.5a–8a. Reproduced with notes and translation in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 463–467.

28. This was, in principle, the rule in Republican China. See Welch, "Dharma Scrolls."

29. One indication of this is found in the *Linjian lu,* by Juefan Huihong, where it is said that when a certain Chan master wanted to pass on his transmission, he first praised the student he had in mind to the magistrate and informed him of his intentions. See XZJ 148.318c5–15. This incident is discussed further below.

30. *Shōbōgenzō* 39, "Shisho," in *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:337–347. The section is translated into English in Nishiyama and Stevens, *Dōgen Zenji's "Shōbōgenzō,"* 178–186.

31. For a general evaluation of Dōgen's account of his travels and experiences in China, see Heine, "Did Dōgen Go to China?"

32. What is supposedly Dōgen's own inheritance certificate is still extant and is reproduced in several sources. See, e.g., Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 70. A very similar kind of document used in Republican China is described in Welch, "Dharma Scrolls."

33. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:340, 343.

34. As Dōgen points out, it was standard practice in the Song to give out such items to visiting laypeople and monks. This was often part of monastery's fund-raising efforts. See Foulk and Sharf, "Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture."

35. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:341.

36. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 137.278d3–4.

37. *Luohu yelu,* XZJ 142.501d1–3.

38. *Ying'an Tanhua chanshi yulu,* XZJ 120.444a6–7.

39. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:340. Zongyue may have been a student of Wuji Liaopai (1149–1224), according to the Japanese scholar-monk Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769). See Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 43.

40. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:341. See Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 152n28, for the possible identity of Chuan.

41. I have not been able to identify a place with this name. The phrase could also mean "who is brave and martial."

42. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:343.

43. Ibid.

44. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 137.278d6–7.

45. *Dōgen zenji zenshū,* 1:342–343.

46. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.24b–27a. Reproduced and translated with notes in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 455–462.

47. "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi xingye ji," found appended to both the Song and Taishō editions of the recorded sayings of Hongzhi and dated to the sixth month of 1166. See the *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.119b–121a, and the Song edition, *Hongzhi lu,*

1:4.316–318. Page references to the *Hongzhi lu* are those in Ishii, *Wanshi roku,* rather than to the page numbers of the original woodblock print, since they are often impossible to read. For more discussion of this important work, see chapter 7.

48. *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.120a14–16; *Hongzhi lu,* 4.318.7–8.

49. See, e.g., the *Huanglong Huinan chanshi yulu,* T 47.629c8–17; the *Dahui yulu,* T 47.811b9–23; the *Mi'an heshang yulu,* T 47.958a14–23; and the *Hongzhi lu,* 1.2–3. (This part is not included in the Taishō edition.) The *kaitang* ceremony is mentioned but not described in the *Chanyuan qinggui,* 256; translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 216.

50. For monks with the title *shouzuo,* see, e.g., the table of contents to the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.3d4, 4b19, 7b2, 9a14, 10d9, 11b18, 14a10, 14b4.

51. See, e.g., the entries in the 1204 *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137, on Qimi *shouzuo* (d.u.), 83b2–6; Huaiyu Yongxuan *shouzuo* (d.u.), 97d1–6; and Zhuyuan Zongyuan *yanzhu* (d.u.), 135c17–d16.

52. The lower prestige of nuns is a sad fact in all of Buddhism, although Chan did far better than most by accepting nuns as members of the Chan transmission family (although with some reservations), and nuns did take over abbacies at public nunneries, although the details are still not fully understood.

53. The two nuns seem a bit misplaced, but they may have been included here because they did not hold abbacies.

54. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.15b.

55. No layperson is credited with having dharma heirs in any source, but I have found a few cases of monastics without abbacies having dharma heirs, although they are all in one way or another a bit anomalous. There is, e.g., the case of Qingzhong Fanyan *shouzuo* (d.u.), who in the *Pudeng lu* is credited with Chan master Zhaoti Guangdeng Weizhan (d.u.) as an heir (XZJ 137.51d11–52b14). Nothing is known about the career of Fanyan, but his heir Weizhan is said to have been the student of Foguo Weibai, the compiler of the *Xudeng lu,* and Fanyan only comes into the narrative when Weizhan, in what seems like a surprise move, declares himself to be the heir of Fanyan in his inaugural sermon (*kaitang*). Interestingly, Fanyan is designated "Chan master" in the table of contents to the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.20b7, although the entry on him in the same text calls him *shouzuo* (336b23–c2). Then there is Nanyue Yuanyi *shouzuo* (d.u.), who is credited with one layman as a dharma heir in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ.137 4c14–15. But, as we have seen, laypeople were not considered full-fledged dharma heirs, and presumably no inheritance certificate was issued to them. Finally, several monks who in the transmission histories are called "hermitage masters" (*anzhu*) are credited with heirs, although it is not clear that they held public abbacies. In the case of hermitage master Zu (d.u.), who is said to have had one heir, it is directly stated that he turned down a public abbacy urged upon him by the famous Zhang Shangying. See the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.86b17–c3, 106a12–15.

56. Juefan Huihong, "Lumen Deng chanshi taming," in *Shimen wenzi chan,* 29.13a–16b. Reproduced with notes and translation in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 470–476, and summarized in Ishii, "Fuyō Dōkai to Tanka Shijun."

57. Cf. the famed Confucian philosopher, Master Meng (Mencius, ca. 372–289 BCE): "There are three unfilial acts; and having no heirs is the worst of them." *Mengzi,* 4A26, in Legge, *Four Books,* 689.

58. What is probably the same person is mentioned in Qingliao's entry in the *Pudeng lu,* 75d6, as Chen Zhang (d.u.). Nothing further is known about him.

59. See *Conglin shengshi,* XZJ 148.46c–d, and Hongzhi's funerary inscription for Qingliao, XZJ 124.310a–328a. The story is cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 262.

60. *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.318c5–15.

61. *Conglin shengshi,* XZJ 148.40d6–10. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen." The incident seems to have taken place in the last year of Hongzhi's life.

62. *Conglin shengshi,* XZJ 148.44d14–45a6.

63. Several scholars with whom I have discussed the findings presented above have noticed the similarity between my description of the system of transmission in the Chan school as embedded in the institution of public monasteries and the granting of PhD degrees at contemporary American universities. An academic who holds a PhD can potentially train graduate students and eventually sanction their PhDs, but this is only possible if the academic teaches at an accredited university. Thus, just as a Song Chan master had to hold an abbacy at a public monastery to pass on his lineage, so modern academics, no matter how famous and respected they might be, can only formally perpetuate their lineages of learning in the position of a university professorship. In many ways, the inheritance certificate of a Chan master is like the PhD diploma of an academic: it is proof of the successful completion of an education that makes it possible for the bearer to seek a position where he or she can train students. Interestingly, in the modern academy, a PhD diploma or even a graduate school transcript is rarely actually seen by the employing university. A person's claim to have completed a PhD is normally left unquestioned, especially if others in the academic community seem to accept that claim. Nevertheless, in recent years, a number of instances of university professors' having falsely claimed to be PhDs have come to light, as have many instances of professors with "PhDs" from institutions that are in fact not accredited (so-called diploma mills). See Thomas Bartlett and Scott Smallwood, "Degrees of Suspicion: Psst. Wanna Buy a Ph.D.?" *Chronicle of Higher Education,* June 25, 2004. Dōgen's description of less-than-honest monks falsely claiming to have a transmission in order to obtain an abbacy seems quite similar. On the other hand, when someone was widely recognized in the Song Chan community as having received a transmission from a certain master, it may not have been necessary for him to produce an actual inheritance certificate in order to be appointed to an abbacy. Recently, some PhDs in the United States have become interested in their own academic genealogies and have tried to trace back their advisors' lineages. See the Mathematics Genealogy Project at http://genealogy.math.ndsu.nodak.edu.

64. *Chanyuan qinggui,* 250–251. Translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 212–215.

65. *Li Gou ji,* 24.259–260.

66. For additional examples of this, see Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy."

67. Michihata, *Tōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū,* 119–130.

68. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 71; Xie and Bai, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidu shi,* 177.

69. For a discussion of the scant evidence for a "five mountains" system in China, see Ishii, "Chūgoku no gozan jussetsu seido." See also Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 313. In Japan, a Zen "five mountains" (*gozan*) monastic system became extremely

important in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and because it was thought to be based on a Chinese model, many scholars have assumed that such a system must have been in place in the Song. See, e.g., Collcutt, *Five Mountains.*

70. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 70–71 (followed by Ishikawa, "Sōdai chokusha jūjisei shōkō: Kōraiji Shōshoshō chōhi"), maintains that from the beginning of the Song there existed a formal category of monasteries whose abbacies were filled only by imperial appointment. This he bases on the *Tiaofa shilei,* 50.476b, which states that when abbacies are to be filled, those whose abbots in the past had been appointed by imperial order must petition the central government, while others must go through the prefectural authorities. However, at many monasteries, the Song court would only occasionally directly appoint the abbot, indicating that no actual system was in place, at least for most of the Song.

71. Otherwise unknown.

72. *Shimen wenzi chan,* 29.13a–16b.

73. No statistics of the number of registered monasteries are available for the Southern Song, but, as noted earlier, there seem to have been 39,000 registered monasteries in the middle of the Northern Song. If just a fraction of registered monasteries were public by the end of the twelfth century, the number must have been considerable.

74. For a discussion of close connections between Northern Song Chan masters and members of the literati, see Gimello, "Mārga and Culture." Such connections are also attested to in the work of T. Griffith Foulk, Mark Halperin, Ding-hwa Evelyn Hsieh, Chi-chiang Huang, Miriam Levering, Yifa, and others.

75. See Schlütter, "*Record of Hongzhi.*" Unfortunately, the essay is marred by several meaning-distorting typographical errors.

76. Schlütter, "*Record of Hongzhi.*"

77. Bol, "Localist Turn."

78. See Ebrey, "Dynamics of Elite Domination," esp. 499–500.

79. In the early eleventh century, there were fewer than thirty thousand men who took the prefectural exams, while at the end of the eleventh century nearly eighty thousand did. By the end of the Southern Song, there were about four hundred thousand hopeful exam takers. See Ebrey, Walthall, and Palais, *East Asia,* 160.

80. Thus, Yuan Cai suggested that those with scholarly inclinations could work as teachers and tutors or write letters for others, while those not so inclined could work in medicine, agriculture, commerce, and various crafts or become Buddhist or Daoist clergy. See Ebrey, *Family and Property,* 267. Hansen, *Changing the Gods,* 160, notes that Peter Bol suggested to her that Yuan did not realize that becoming ordained was difficult, too, because of the high cost of ordination certificates. However, it may well have been seen as a worthwhile investment for a literati family to fund the ordination of one of its members, and, as I noted earlier, it seems that exams were held through most of the Song, so the academically gifted may not have had to pay the high price for a certificate.

81. Bol, "Localist Turn."

82. This is argued at length in Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen,* esp. 210–212.

83. Gardner, "Modes of Thinking."

84. Liu and Berling, “Three Teachings.”

85. *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1033b–c. Translated in Thomas Cleary, *Zen Lessons,* 185–187.

Chapter 4: A New Chan Tradition

1. See the lists in the *Chuandeng lu:* T 51.388a28–389a10 for the third generation, 398a9–28 for the fourth generation, and 421b–c for the fifth. For a comprehensive table of the Caodong lineage that incorporates data from a large number of sources (some of them very late), see *Zengaku daijiten,* 3:7, 21.

2. *Chuanfa zhengzong ji,* T 51.763c. This is also one of the first sources to mention the five traditions by name.

3. See the short biography of Huihong in Rin, *Chūgoku bukkyō shiseki,* 232–234. A interesting discussion of Huihong’s life is also found in Gimello, “Ch’an Buddhism.”

4. “Dingzhao chanshi xu,” in *Shimen wenzi chan,* 23.15b–17a. See also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 238–239. The “Dingzhao chanshi xu” is here almost identical to the corresponding passage in Huihong’s *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256d–257a.

5. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.421b–c.

6. The Northern Song had four capitals: the western in Luoyang, the northern in Daming, the eastern in Kaifeng, and the southern in Yingtian. Kaifeng served as the actual seat of government.

7. Huihong for some reason never mentions Baoen. In general, Baoen did not receive much attention after his death, at least partly because his descendants were not as successful as those of Daokai.

8. However, some literati were suspicious of his scholarship. See Chen Yuan, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun,* 132–134.

9. See the “Zhongxiao song ji,” in *Shimen wenzi chan,* 22.5a–6a. Noted in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 468n14.

10. Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 246.

11. For his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:3874. He became a *jinshi* in 1079 and died at the end of the Zhenghe period (1111–1118).

12. “Banyang ji xu,” in *Xueyi ji,* 6.10b–11a. The text is dated 1115. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 241–242.

13. See, e.g., Cheng Ju’s (1078–1144) inscription for Facheng in the *Beishan ji,* 32.5a–8a (also reproduced with notes and translation in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 463–467), or the remarks by Ye Mengde (1077–1148) in *Bishu luhua,* 1.64a.

14. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.19c. See Yü, “Ta-hui Tsung-kao.”

15. *Xudeng lu,* 178d.

16. Ibid., table of contents, 17a.

17. Ibid., 178c.

18. Ibid., 17a.

19. In later histories, some of the other disciples of Yiqing also appear with a short record, but very little information about them is found.

20. See the discussion of the three in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 254–279.

21. See also the discussion of Daokai and Baoen in ibid., 234–253.

22. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256c–257b. The *Sengbao zhuan* was completed in 1119, according to Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:407. Its preface is dated 1124.

23. Wang Bin, "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.34a–36b. Reproduced in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 446–454. The inscription was written at the request of Daokai's second-generation descendant Huizhao Qingyu and clearly serves as a vehicle for promoting Qingyu and his lineage. It is not certain that its attribution and dating are accurate. Another now-lost funerary inscription for Daokai also is known to have existed.

24. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256c. The inscription says he studied *shenxian* (the [way of] the immortals). See "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 447.

25. The Wang Bin inscription says these events took place in 1073 and 1074, when Daokai must have been thirty and thirty-one years of age, respectively. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 447. However, the inscription later contradicts itself: at the end, it says that Daokai was a monk for forty-two years, which would mean that he became a full-fledged monk in 1076. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.36a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 450.

26. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256d. See also "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 448.

27. The date is according to the *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256d. However, in his inscription on Lumen Fadeng, Huihong implies that Daokai first came to Kaifeng in 1107. See *Shimen wenzi chan,* 29.14a.

28. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256d.

29. See Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:979, for references to his biography.

30. In Fadeng's epitaph, Huihong says that this took place in 1109, rather than 1107, as he implies here. See his *Shimen wenzi chan,* 29.14a.

31. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256d.

32. Some monks would pay bribes to officials to get a purple robe, while after 1067 the robes were sometimes sold outright at high prices. See Huang Minzhi, *Songdai fojiao,* 448.

33. This was in fact a relatively mild punishment, since Daokai was sent to a place in the North near his old hometown rather than to the South, where exiles often died from tropical diseases. (Daokai's biographer Huihong was exiled to the southern island of Hainan for several years. See Rin, *Chūgoku bukkyō shiseki,* 233). See Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 424, for the identification of Zizhou.

34. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.257a. See also Huihong's "Dingzhao chanshi xu," in *Shimen wenzi chan,* 23.16a–17a. Here it is said that in 1107 Daokai was appointed to the Dafayun monastery, and there is no mention of the Tianning monastery. Since Tianning monasteries were existing monasteries that had been renamed, the Tianning monastery in Kaifeng was probably originally the Dafayun monastery.

35. See *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.173c–174a; *Zimen jingxun,* T 48.1074b–1075a; and *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.452d–454d. See also the Japanese edition dating to 1792 (the only one that actually gives the text a title), XZJ 111.85a–d, translated into Japanese in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 242–244.

36. "Dingzhao chanshi xu," in *Shimen wenzi chan,* 23.17a.

37. Huihong again contradicts himself in his inscription on Fadeng, where he says that Daokai was released from his exile in 1111. *Shimen wenzi chan,* 29.14b.

38. I have found nothing else about this person.

39. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449.

40. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449. For Liu Fengshi, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:3960.

41. Its location has recently been identified. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 241.

42. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449. The donation of people may refer to tenant-serfs associated with donated land; tenant-serfs were bound to the land they cultivated and could be transferred to the new owner when the land was sold. But it also became common in the Song for tenant-serfs to be sold outright like slaves, and it is possible a benefactor donated such people to work the land of Daokai's monastery. See Elvin, *Pattern of the Chinese Past,* 71–73.

43. The inscription gives the name "Xinghua monastery." See "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.35b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449. There is no mention that Daokai's monastery became public at this time, and other indications are that it remained hereditary.

44. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.257a. The Wang Bin inscription has a much longer description of Daokai's last years and includes many details not mentioned by Huihong. See "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.36a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449.

45. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.36a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 449.

46. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.257a. This seems anachronistic, since Yiqing is said to have died in 1083, and Daokai could not have become the abbot at Dayang until the late 1080s. Huihong goes on to say that Daokai later gave the robe to his disciple Daowei (d.u.), and when Daowei died, the robe was enshrined in a pagoda at Mount Lumen.

47. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256c.

48. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.7b–10b. See also the annotated version in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 430–437.

49. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:1630.

50. "En chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.20a–22b. This text is reproduced with a translation into literary Japanese in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 438–445. All later biographical notes on Baoen appear to be based on this account. See *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.460a–b; *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.41d–42d; and *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.265d.

51. Possibly the northern capital, Daming, is referred to here. It could also be Taiyuan, which in Tang times was called "Beidu."

52. "En chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.21a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 439–440.

53. For his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:4155.

54. This was the Shaolin monastery that later became so famous as a martial arts center.

55. Zhang Shangying's inscription for the Lingfeng monastery at Mount Baoen claims that the conversion of the monastery took place in 1087, but this is likely mistaken. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.7b–10b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 430.

56. He became prefect of Suizhou in 1095. For his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:1666.

57. For his biography, see ibid., 3:2410.

58. Not known from other sources.

59. Qingdan is not known from other sources and is a good example of how a Chan master who at one point must have been seen as a rising star in the world of Chan Buddhism was completely forgotten in later history.

60. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.36a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 450. No recorded sayings by Daokai are extant, but his entry in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.452d–454d, is likely based on a now-lost collection of recorded sayings. It has long been thought that the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao* accurately reflects actual Song editions, and Ishii Shūdō has recently shown that the recorded sayings quoted in it are very faithful to the known Song editions of the recorded sayings of Hongzhi Zhengjue and Dahui Zonggao. See "Sōdai Sōtōshū zenseki kō," 166–176.

61. Known from its preface, the "Banyang ji xu," in *Xueyi ji,* 6.10b–11a.

62. Found in a Japanese collection from 1791, Daokai's commentary appears together with that of Nanyang Huichong (d. 775; considered to be disciple of Huineng) and Cishou Huaishen (1077–1132; Yunmen lineage), XZJ 44.391a–396a. There is no mention of a commentary on the *Heart Sūtra* by any of these monks in any earlier source, and I have found no evidence of the collection earlier than the Japanese 1792 edition. See the entry in *Shinsan zenseki mokuroku,* 392a. See also McRae, "Ch'an Commentaries."

63. Dahui mentions a work entitled *Caodong zongpai,* which almost certainly is a reference to Baoen's work. See *Nihon kōtei daizōkyō,* 1.31.5.405c. In the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.348b, a reference is found to a work entitled *Caodong guanglu,* which is also very possibly a reference to Baoen's work.

64. *Jile ji,* 69.13b–14a.

65. For sources to his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 3:2333.

66. See, e.g., the story in the *Xishan dushu ji,* 31.39b–40a.

67. *Zhou Xingji ji,* 208.

68. *Wenjian lu,* 15.6b–7a.

69. *Tieweishan congtan,* 5.25b–27b.

70. See, e.g., *Quwei jiuwen,* 4.2b.

71. Ishii, "Sōdai Sōtōshu zenseki kō."

72. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.238a–d.

73. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.17a.

74. See the table of contents to the *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.301d10–15. Not surprisingly, the *Guangdeng lu* does not mention Yiqing, who was not yet born when the work was compiled. The *Xudeng lu* is, as its title suggests, intended as a continuation of the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu,* and in general it avoids repeating material that is found in these two works.

75. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.176a–177a.

76. This story often occurs in Chan literature. See, e.g., case 65 in the *Biyan lu,* T 48.195b. Translated in Cleary and Cleary, *Blue Cliff Record,* 364.

77. "Yangguang" must refer to Mount Dayang.

78. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.176a14–b8.

79. Mount Baiyun is situated in the southwestern corner of modern-day Anhui province.

80. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.176b9–177a10.

81. Ibid., 136.40d.

82. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.255c8–14.

83. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.238b–c.

84. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.256b.

85. Ibid.

86. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.238c.

87. This digest is based on the extant Kōshōji edition of the *Platform Sūtra,* ca. 1153, which probably was very similar or identical to the version of the *Platform Sūtra* most common in the early twelfth century. In the Dunhuang version, Hongren does not mention his own death, and Huineng is told to hide for three years. See the Kōshōji edition in Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō,* 44 (original in *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei,* 52), and the Dunhuang edition in Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* 133, for the translation and pp. 4–5 of the Chinese text (original in *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei,* 9). For a discussion of the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra,* see Schlütter, "Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra.*"

88. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.248d.

89. *Pujue Zonggao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 121.48b12–49a8; *Dahui zongmen wuku,* T 47.953c26–954a15. As we will see, Dahui was a critic of the new Caodong tradition, and the story may have originated with him and his followers.

90. *Bu xu gaoseng zhuan,* XZJ 134.66b.

91. There were some unsympathetic voices. See "En chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.20b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 438. In Japan, Yiqing's transmission may also have posed a problem for the Sōtō tradition. For example, an early edition of the recorded sayings of Dōgen has a story about Touzi Yiqing and Fushan Fayuan. In later editions, Fushan Fayuan's name has been changed to that of Dayang Jingxuan. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 209–210.

92. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.222c.

93. Ibid., 222a. The two characters in Li's given name are here inverted as "Yuanchong." See a Japanese translation of the preface in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 222–223. For sources to Li's biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:975.

94. This work, recently discovered in the National Central Library in Taiwan, is in four parts, three of which are devoted to a Song Caodong master. Yiqing's gongan commentary here is also found in his recorded sayings. For a description, see Shiina, "Gen-ban *Shikeroku* to sono shiryō." I am grateful to Professor Ishii Shūdō for making a copy of the *Sijia lu* available to me.

95. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.421b–c.

96. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.248a–d.

97. As Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:388, notes, the *Chuandeng lu* was written before Jingxuan changed his name and therefore does not use the taboo-avoiding name. In later works, such as the *Pudeng lu* and the *Wudeng huiyuan,* he is again called Jingxuan.

98. Zhitong is not known from other sources.

99. *Yuanjue jing,* T 17.913–922. Its full title is *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing.* This is an apocryphal text composed in China in the late seventh or early eighth century. See Gregory, *Tsung-mi,* 54–58, for a discussion. I here use the word "apocryphal" to refer to texts that were presented to their Chinese audience as translations of authoritative Sanskrit texts but which in fact were composed in China.

100. This must be a reference to Dayang Huijian (d.u.), a master in the Caodong lineage in the third generation after Dongshan Liangjie. He is mentioned in the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.389a, but no record of him is given. Since Liangjie died in 869, it seems somewhat unlikely that Huijian could have been contemporary with Jingxuan, and his name may have been used simply to give Jingxuan an even firmer footing in the Caodong tradition. However, the story is fully accepted in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 213, and Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:388.

101. Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:392, suggests that the fifty years mentioned here denotes the time from Jingxuan's enlightenment experience to his death. This would mean that he was enlightened at the age of thirty-five in 977.

102. For his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 1:230. He was one of the people to fund the publication of the *Chuandeng lu* in 1009.

103. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.241c, 261a, 263d, 278d.

104. *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.301d10.

105. *Piling ji,* 10.7b–8a. See also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 215.

106. There is another work attributed to Jingxuan, the *Dayang Ming'an dashi shiba bo miaoyu,* which has a preface and a sort of commentary attributed to Daokai attached. However, Ishii Shūdō has argued convincingly that the whole work is a late Japanese creation. See Ishii, "Sōdai Sōtōshū zenseki kō," 200b–202a.

107. See the *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.222a–224a, for the entry on Benji; 232a–234b for the entry on Daoying; 248a–d for the entry on Jingxuan; 256a–c for the entry on Yiqing; and 256c–257b for the entry on Daokai.

108. See ibid. for the entries on Jiufeng Tongxuan, 235d; Longya Judun (853–923), 239b; Yunju Daojian (d.u.), 241b; Zhongyun Zhihui (873–956), 241d; Ruilong Youzhang (831–927), 242a; and Guiyang Huichong (d.u.), 243b.

109. Ibid., 248d.

110. Two of the monks, Tongan Daopi and Tongan Guanzhi, are not mentioned with their two-character names until the 1254 *Wujia zhengzong zan,* XZJ 135.479a, 279c. For more discussion of the early Caodong lineage, see Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 86–124; Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:465–476; and Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 147–294.

111. The now-lost *Xu baolin zhuan* from 910 may very possibly also have included entries on Liangjie and some of his descendants.

112. However, in the *Zutang ji*'s record of Daoying (2.123), a person called Tongan poses a question, and Ui Hakuju has suggested that this is a reference to Tongan Daopi. See Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:359.

113. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.362a–b. There is some confusion in the *Chuandeng lu* (333b) between the record of Daopi and that of another monk, Hongzhou Jianchang Fengqishan Tongan *heshang,* who is listed as the heir of Jiashan Shanhui. The beginning passage of his entry in the *Chuandeng lu* is also found in Daopi's entry. The same passage constitutes the entire entry found in the *Zutang ji* (3.11) under the record of a

Xian Dongan *heshang,* also said to be an heir of Jiashan Shanhui. This was first noted in Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:379.

114. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.388c. Guanzhi is known only as "master Zhi" in all sources prior to the *Wujia zhengzong zan,* XZJ 135.279c.

115. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.365c.

116. Ibid., 338b. His record consists of only a few lines.

117. Ibid., 406c.

118. Ibid., 421b–c. According to the *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.248d, Jingxuan's dates are 942–1027.

119. See, e.g., Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:382; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 206; and Suzuki Tetsuo, *Tō Go-dai no zenshū,* 231.

120. Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:383.

121. *Song gaoseng zhuan,* T 50.781b; *Zutang ji,* 2.117.

122. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.236a–c.

123. Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:217. However, the *Wudeng huiyuan* from 1252 has Jiufeng Puman and Jiufeng Tongxuan as two different disciples of Liangjie. The entry on Puman is very long and incorporates the material from the *Chuandeng lu* as well as new material found in the *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.404c–405a. The entry on Tongxuan consists of just a few lines taken from his lengthy entry in the *Sengbao zhuan.* See the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.244d, 247a.

124. *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.404c–405a.

125. See Fan Yu, "En chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.22a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 442, for the reference to Qingdan in Baoen's inscription. It is possible that Qingdan is identical with the Dayang Dan *chanshi* (d.u.), who is listed as the disciple of Baoen, without any record, in the fourteenth-century *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.536a8.

126. "Jingyan heshang taji," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 11.21a–26a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 257, 479–489.

127. Zhang Yuan (d.u.), "Dahongshan Chongning Baoshou chanyuan di shiyi dai zhuchi zhuanfa Juezhao Huikong Fozhi Mingwu dashi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 12.7a–9b. An annotated and collated version is found in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 509–515.

128. Wang Guan (d.u.), "Zhendingfu shifang Dinglin chanyuan disidai chuanfa zhuchi cizi Tongfa dahi taming," in *Changshan zhenshi zhi,* 13.13b–16a. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 290, for some discussion of Tongfa.

129. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.257a. Although Huihong states that after Daowei the robe was no longer transmitted, the story of Dayang Jingxuan's robe later resurfaced in Japan, where the robe was said to have been passed on through Hongzhi ultimately to Dōgen's teacher Tiantong Rujing (1162–1227), who gave it to Dōgen himself. See Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 75, and Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen,* 44.

130. For entries on Daowei in the transmission histories, see *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.55c; *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.269c.

131. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.24b; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 446.

132. For a discussion of the activities of Daokai's and Baoen's descendants in the twelfth century, see Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 125–229.

133. "Kai chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.26a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 450.

134. Wang Boxiang, "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi xingye ji," in *Hongzhi lu,* 4.316–318, and *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.119b–121a. Two other biographies dedicated to Hongzhi exist: Zhou Kui (1098–1174), "Hongzhi chanshi Miaoguang taming," in *Liangzhe jinshi zhi,* 9.5a–8b; and Zhao Lingjin (d. 1158), "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi houlu xu," in *Tiantong si zhi,* 8.1a–2b. See also the juxtaposed sources on Hongzhi's life, including these and others, in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 295–330.

135. First mentioned in the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.98b.

136. First mentioned in ibid., 57b. Huanglong Huinan is revered as the founder of the Huanglong line of the Linji tradition.

137. The two inscriptions give his age at ordination as fifteen. See "Hongzhi chanshi Miaoguang taming," in *Liangzhe jinshi zhi,* 9.6a1, and "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi houlu xu," in *Tiantong si zhi,* 8.1b3.

138. See Wang's text in the *Hongzhi lu,* 4.317a12–16; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.119c27–120a3.

139. This is also described in the *Hongzhi lu,* 1.2. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 309–310. About 970 characters, including this passage, are missing from the beginning of Hongzhi's recorded sayings in the Taishō edition, *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.

140. Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 1:631–632. See also Deng and Cheng, *Zhongguo lishi dacidian,* 128.

141. See Wang's text in the *Hongzhi lu,* 4.316a2–7; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.119b29–c4.

142. *Hongzhi lu,* 2.149a; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.34c–35a.

143. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.2–27, 2.82–119; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.1a–7a.

144. See chapter 2.

145. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 310. This must have been right before Huizong's abdication in favor of his son, known as Qinzong.

146. For sources for Zhao Lingcheng's biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 4:3435.

147. *Tiantong si zhi,* 8.2b14.

148. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 4:2759.

149. For sources for his biography, see ibid., 2:1659–1661.

150. See *Hongzhi lu,* 4.237, for Feng Wenshu's preface, and 3.155 for the one by Fan Zongyin; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.57b, 1a. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 311.

151. Yuanwu Keqin's recorded sayings contain a sermon given by Hongzhi. See *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.746a. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 243n9.

152. Wang tells us that Hongzhi perceived their plan and tried to steal away, but the congregation had surrounded the monastery at night, and Hongzhi had no choice but to accept the appointment. See Wang's description in the *Hongzhi lu,* 4.319a5–9; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.120b3–6.

153. "Chongxian Zhenxie Liao chanshi taming," in *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.310a–328a. The inscription here ultimately derives from the 1672 Ming canon edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings, *Mingzhou Tiantong Jingde chansi Hongzhi Jue chanshi yulu,* second supplement to the Ming canon, 4.4a–8b. See the reproduction in Ishii, *Wanshi roku,* 508–510. Although there is no earlier evidence of this inscription, much of its material is also found in the entries on Qingliao in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.75c, 208b, and the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.269d.

154. A more elaborate and somewhat different account of Qingliao's enlightenment is found in his recorded sayings, *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.315b6–14.

155. See also the discussion in Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon."

156. The *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.315b–316a, contains accounts of Qingliao's meetings with these masters. Hongzhi's inscription does not name them.

157. The *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.75d, implies that Qingliao was instrumental in having the monastery converted from a hereditary to a public institution.

158. This is noted in the 1268 *Xianchun Lin'an zhi,* 81.15b. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 508n18. For Empress Wei, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:1542.

159. *Xiujian* would normally mean "to build." It is possible that this passage means that Empress Wei sent money to build a hall for the ceremony of feeding the hungry ghosts, but that seems unlikely.

160. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.328a.

161. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.26a3–4. Also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 462.

162. "Suizhou Dahongshan diliudai zhuchi Huizhao chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 11.16b–19a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 491–497.

163. Qingyu has a short entry in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.77a; the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.271c; and the *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.580c.

164. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.34a–36b. Cf. Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 446–454.

165. As we have seen, the Wang Bin inscription and other sources indicate that Daokai cannot have been at Dahong for more than one year.

166. See his *Piling ji,* 10.8b–9a; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 258–259.

167. "Suizhou Dahongshan diliudai zhuchi Huizhao chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 166; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 419.

168. The person in question is Wuji Fahe (1097–1157), a disciple of Kumu Facheng. He lived the last part of his life in the area occupied by the Jin and, no doubt for that reason, was not included in any transmission history. See his epitaph, "Shaolin chansi Xitang laoshi Fahe taming," in *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng,* 124.3a–6b.

169. All the entries on the second-generation descendants of Liangjie are found consecutively in the *Zutang ji,* 3.109–118.

Chapter 5: A Dog Has No Buddha-Nature

1. *Bishu luhua,* 1.64a. Cited in Ding Chuanjing, *Songren yishi huibian,* 1030.

2. That Dahui formulated kanhua Chan as a response to silent illumination was first suggested in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 6, and further developed in pt. 8. Few scholars have picked up on this aspect of Ishii's groundbreaking research on kanhua Chan.

3. Some of the material in this chapter is also found in Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon" and "Silent Illumination."

4. Much of this material is collected in the thirty-fascicle *Dahui yulu.* This work was included in the Song canons, and the version found in T 47.811–943 is very close to extant Song editions. Another very important source to Dahui's thought is the *Dahui pushuo.* No Song edition of this work survives, but several Japanese copies

of Song editions (*gozan* editions) are extant. I have used the edition in *Nihon kōtei daizōkyō,* 1.31.5.395a–480d. Confusingly, included in fascicle four of this edition of the *Dahui pushuo* is a collection of written sermons (*fayu*), and an added fifth fascicle contains *pushuo* sermons also included in the thirty-fascicle *yulu* found in T 47. For a discussion of the various works attributed to Dahui, see Ishii, "*Daie goroku* no kisoteki kenkyū."

5. This is the *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.1a–16a. A critical edition of the *Dahui nianpu,* based on a Song edition from the Rissho University library, is found in Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pts. 1 and 2. The *Dahui nianpu* was originally completed in 1183 but was revised in 1205 and later included in the Ming canon together with the recorded sayings of Dahui. See Yanagida, "Zenseki kaidai," 488. The *Dahui nianpu* is in large part based on information from Dahui himself, extracted from his sermons and letters, but it is also the only source for the dating of many events in Dahui's life. Many of the sources for the *Dahui nianpu* are identified in Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 3. See also the detailed account of Dahui's biography in English in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 18–38, and the account in Ishii, "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 457–478.

6. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.3a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 119a.

7. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.4a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 124a. Han Ju is also known under his sobriquet, Zicang. See Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:4151.

8. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.3a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 118b. What may well be excerpts from this edition can be found in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.436c–438a.

9. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.3b–4a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, pp. 119b–120b. No epitaph for Wenzhun by Zhang Shangying is extant.

10. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.4a–b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 124b.

11. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.5a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 128a.

12. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.5a–b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 129a–b.

13. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.5b–6a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 131b.

14. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.6a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 133b. This was less than one month after Hongzhi had ended his visit with Keqin at Mount Yunju.

15. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 138b.

16. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b–8a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 140a–b.

17. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.9a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 101b.

18. Zhang Jun later wrote a funerary inscription for Dahui. See T 47.836b–837b.

19. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.10a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 106b. See the discussion of the incident in Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao." For sources for the biography of Zhang Jiucheng, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 3:2340.

20. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.12a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 114a.

21. A number of these letters are preserved in his recorded sayings (T 47.916b–943a), and they are very important sources for Dahui's thought. A critical edition of Dahui's letters is found in Araki, *Daie sho.* I will cite both the Taishō edition and Araki's edition when I refer to Dahui's letters.

22. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.13a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 119a. In some sources, this appointment is said to have been through the recommendation of Hongzhi; see chapter 6.

23. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.123a–b. See also the *Fozu tongji,* T 49.427b.

24. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.15a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 128a. See also the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.153b.

25. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.16a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 130a.

26. *Fozu tongji,* T 49.427b.

27. In a discussion of Dahui's use of gongan, Robert Buswell writes that Dahui "called this new approach to meditation *k'an-hua* Ch'an." "Short-Cut Approach," 347. However, Dahui never used the term "kanhua Chan" and did not present his use of gongan in meditation as an innovation, although it clearly was. In fact, the term "kanhua Chan" cannot be found in any premodern work, and it seems to have been first coined by Japanese researchers.

28. The word "huatou" seems often, both before and after Dahui, to have been used as synonymous with gongan, although Dahui himself clearly distinguished the two.

29. See, e.g., Schlütter, "Silent Illumination." However, I have come to feel that the term "kanhua Chan" is preferable.

30. For a discussion of different genres of Chan literature, see Schlütter, "*Record of Hongzhi.*"

31. An exhaustive treatment of Dahui's kanhua practice will not be attempted here. For more discussion, see, e.g., Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 807–840; Araki, *Daie sho,* 245–268; and Ishii, "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 453–499. In English, see, e.g., Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 240–311; Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao"; and Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach."

32. This exchange does not appear in the entries on Zhaozhou in the *Zutang ji,* 5.37, or in the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.276c. It does appear in the *Zhaozhou lu,* which is included in the *Gu zunsu yulu,* XZJ 118.157c9–10; see also 162c6–7, where Zhaozhou gives a different answer to the same question. According to the entry on Zhaozhou in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* from 988, the recorded sayings of Zhaozhou were in wide circulation, but we cannot know whether the dog story was included in the early versions. See T 50.775c.

33. *Dahui pushuo,* 481c10–13. Also translated in Ishii, "Yakuchū *Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" pt. 1.

34. Although the subject cannot be addressed in full here, clearly gongan are deeply embedded in a literary tradition. In spite of the protestations of Dahui and later Chan masters, kanhua Chan can only be meaningful when the practitioner is thoroughly familiar with encounter dialogue and the unwritten rules that govern it. For a discussion of this issue, see Foulk, "Form and Function of Koan Literature."

35. Translation tentative.

36. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.901c27–902a6.

37. Ibid., 927b5–6; Araki, *Daie sho,* 102. Cited in Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," 367n78.

38. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.930, b21–23. Cited in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 304. See other gongan that Dahui recommended in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.928a6–9; Araki, *Daie sho,* 106.

39. See the discussions of doubt in kanhua practice in Yanagida, "Chūgoku

zenshū shi," 98–104; Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 297–303; and Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," 351–356.

40. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.886a28. Cited in Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," 100, and Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 302.

41. Translation tentative.

42. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.930a14–18; Araki, *Daie sho,* 127. Cited in Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," 99, and partially translated in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 302.

43. The most commonly cited discussion of this meaning of gongan is by the Ming-dynasty Chan master Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323), in *Zhongfeng heshang guanglu,* DNK 11.193a–194. See Foulk, "Form and Function of Koan Literature."

44. Foulk, "Form and Function of Koan Literature."

45. *Congrong lu,* T 48.226–292. Translated in Cleary, *Book of Serenity.* Another less well-known collection of Hongzhi's prose comments on one hundred cases was also commented upon by Wansong and published as the *Qingyi lu,* XZJ 117.406a–451b.

46. *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1036b28. See Ogisu, "Daie zenji no *Hekiganshū* shōki ni tsuite," cited in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 32n2.

47. See the *Gu zunsu yulu,* XZJ 118.398a–411d. The commentary is mentioned in *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7a–b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 138b.

48. See the *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu,* T 47.544–576, in which Yunmen offers his comments on a number of gongan cases. Yunmen's recorded sayings were not compiled until the late Northern Song, in 1076, and the oldest extant edition dates from 1267. See App, *Master Yunmen,* xvii.

49. Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 813–816, cited in Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," 368n84. Fenyang Shanzhao is the first Chan master to whom a collection of gongan cases with his own comments in prose or poetry attached is attributed. See the *Fenyang Wude chanshi yulu,* T 47.594–629. See also the *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1033c18–21, 1036b19–22, where it is said that this practice began with Fenyang and was popularized by Xuedou Chongxian. Fenyang's recorded sayings have a publishing note dated 1101, which states that the edition was a republication. The present version included in the Taishō canon appears to be based on a Japanese 1709 edition, which was derived from a 1301 edition. See *Zengaku daijiten,* 1106c, and Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 377.

50. Virtually all writings on the Linji tradition, scholarly or not, will give the impression that the use of gongan in the instruction of students was especially associated with the Linji tradition, but this is a distortion of the history of gongan instruction.

51. In English, see, e.g., Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust,* 3–16.

52. Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," 322.

53. See chapter 4.

54. "Dahongshan Chongning Baoshou chanyuan di shiyi dai zhuchi zhuanfa Juezhao Huikong Fozhi Mingwu dashi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi;* Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 509–515.

55. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.385a7–8. Translation adapted from Hsieh, "Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's Teaching."

56. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 117.288d2–4. This work seems to have been completed in the 1160s.

57. This is a reference to the famous verse by Huineng found in the longer versions of the *Platform Sūtra.* See T 48.349a. The earliest version of the *Platform Sūtra* to include the verse in this form is from 976. See Schlütter, "Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra.*" The story seems anachronistic, since the verse was first associated with Huineng in the record of Hongren in the *Zutang ji,* 1.85, a century after the death of Liangjie. However, this and Huineng's following verse is also found in the Song edition of Huangbo Xiyun's (d. between 847 and 859) *Wanling lu,* although it is not clear that it here is attributed to Huineng; see T 48.385b12–13. The *Wanling lu* has a preface dated 857, and many scholars feel it dates back to the time of Huangbo. For a discussion of the *Wanling lu,* see Dale S. Wright, "Huang-Po Literature."

58. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.322c12–14.

59. This notion seems first to have been advanced in Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," esp. 820. See also Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," and Hsieh, "Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's Teaching," as well as Hsieh, "Evolution of *K'an-hua* Ch'an."

60. Zhenru Muzhe (d. 1095), a famous master with whom several of the monks in the Caodong lineage also studied.

61. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.775a22–24.

62. This expression seems to first have been used by the founder of the Yangqi branch that Dahui belonged to, Yangqi Fanghui. See T 47.641c17. According to Dahui himself, he worked on this same gongan while studying with Keqin. At some point, he asked Keqin: "I heard that when you were with Wuzu you asked about this phrase. I wonder what he answered? . . . [Keqin replied:] he said: 'If you try to draw it you can't, if you try to paint it you can't.' I [Keqin] then asked: 'What if the tree suddenly falls over and the vines dry up [and die]?' Wuzu said: 'You are following along with it.'" Hearing this, Dahui gained full enlightenment. See T 47.883a27–b12. See also the *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.421a10–16, which has a somewhat abbreviated version of the story. The passage is also translated in Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao," 215. The story in this form is not found in any of Keqin's recorded sayings.

63. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.355a17–b7.

64. The part in brackets is supplied from *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.775b3. See the discussion of this poem in Hsieh, "Evolution of K'an-hua Ch'an," 35.

65. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.355b7–9. The whole passage is also translated in Cleary and Cleary, *Zen Letters,* 16. The Clearys in this work translate about half of the *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* fairly accurately, although many passages are shortened and paraphrased without any indication. There is also no indication of what passages are translated—or indeed that the *Foguo Keqin xinyao* is the work from which they are translating.

66. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.775b2–5.

67. This is also how the story is related in the genealogical histories. See *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.346b17–c5, where the story first appears.

68. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.358a11–12. Cited in Hsieh, "Evolution of K'anhua Ch'an," 160.

69. Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," and Hsieh, "Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's Teaching." See also Hsieh, "Evolution of K'an-hua Ch'an."

70. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.377a8–11. Cited in Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 821; see 822–823 for more examples of Keqin discussing the uselessness and harmfulness of trying to understand gongan intellectually.

71. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.749b17–18. Cited in Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 821.

72. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.379d9–10. Cited in Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 822. The translation here follows Buswell, "Short-Cut Approach," 346, with some changes.

73. *Wanling lu,* T 48.387b5–8.

74. The unreliable nature of the passage was noted in Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust,* 154. See the Song text of the *Wanling lu,* 134–135 (where the passage should have been).

75. Date suggested by Araki, *Daie sho,* 241. It is not clear how Araki reached this conclusion.

76. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.942c24–26; Araki, *Daie sho,* 239. Cited in Furuta, "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 830. This letter is also found in a somewhat different form in the *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1023a25–29. The person who received the letter is in both places said to have been Lingyuan (Huanglong) Weiqing (d. 1117). My current understanding of this passage differs somewhat from the one reflected in Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon."

77. *Fayan chanshi yulu,* T 47.665b29–c5. Cited in Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," 102.

78. The sermon is extremely short and reads in its entirety: "The master ascended the hall and said: 'Does a dog have the Buddha-nature or not? Still, it is a hundred thousand times better than a cat.' He stepped down." *Fayan chanshi yulu,* T 47.660a3–4.

79. Ibid., 666b28–c2.

80. Dahui is also known to have extolled the virtues of Pure Land practice, but this seems to have been directed toward laypeople who were unlikely to be able and willing to engage in kanhua Chan. See Ishii, "Zen to nenbutsu no mondai."

81. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.935a29–b1; Araki, *Daie sho,* 170–171. Also translated in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 261.

82. The text literally has "beyond Bhīṣmagarjitasvararāja" (Ch.: Weiyin Wang), the Majestic (or Awesome) Sound King. He appears in chapter 20 of the *Lotus Sūtra* as a Buddha with a lifespan of billions of eons who lived innumerable eons ago and who was followed by a series of twenty thousand million Buddhas with the same name. See *Miaofa lianhua jing,* T 9.50c–51b, and the translation in Watson, *Lotus Sūtra,* 265–266. Because of his antiquity, Weiyin Wang came to be seen as the primordial Buddha at the beginning of time. This expression and the expressions "the time before your parents were born" or "before the empty eon" all denote a state before any creation has taken place.

83. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.941c2–4; Araki, *Daie sho,* 228.

84. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.923a5–10; Araki, *Daie sho,* 64–65. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,*

343. This letter was written to Vice Minister Chen Jiren, and in the *Dahui nianpu* (DNK 8.9b19; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 104a) it is recorded that in 1139 Dahui wrote a letter to this person. He must be identical to Chen Jue (1091–1154); see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 3:2475.

85. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.923b9–12; Araki, *Daie sho,* 67. Cited in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 101.

86. This was a sermon form that seems to have been popularized by Dahui. *Pushuo* sermons were in Dahui's case usually given at the request of a named person, most frequently a layman. For a discussion of the *pushuo* form and Dahui's use of it, see Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 171–206.

87. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.428a18–19.

88. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.892a13–25. An earlier translation of this passage appears in Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon." I am grateful to William Bodiford for drawing my attention to the meaning of *xiancheng mifan* and the misleading punctuation in the Taishō text. See also the translation of parts of this passage in Yü, "Ta-hui Tsung-kao."

89. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.443b18–c2. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 331. See also the somewhat different version of the story, which includes some poems that Dahui composed at the occasion, in the *Yunwo jitan,* XZJ 148.14b–c.

90. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.922a–b6; Araki, *Daie sho,* 57.

91. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.425b11–12. Cited in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 267.

92. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.828b16–17.

93. Ibid., 933c6–9; Araki, *Daie sho,* 156. This letter can probably be dated to 1144.

94. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.901c6–10. Cited in Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," 99–100. See also the Japanese translation in Ishii, "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 161.

95. *Qixin lun,* T 32.575–583. This work is attributed to the Indian poet Aśvaghoṣa but is almost certainly of Chinese origin. It began to circulate in China during the second half of the sixth century and quickly seems to have become widely read. It contains a distillation of aspects of Mahāyāna doctrine that became important in China, and it was accepted as completely canonical.

96. *Qixin lun,* T 32.576b–c. The passage is translated in Hakeda, *Awakening of Faith,* 37.

97. The version of this sermon in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.888a, has the less-specific "heretical teachers" here.

98. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.466b2–7. See also *Dahui yulu,* T 47.888a12–18. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 343. This is the only sermon by Dahui that is found in both the *Manji zōkyō* edition of his *pushuo* sermons and in the thirty-fascicle recorded sayings edition included in the Taishō canon. The first part of the piece is missing in the latter, and there are minor differences between the texts. See also the parallel passage in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.878b27–c3, which does not include the criticism of silent illumination.

99. T 17.913–921. This apocryphal sūtra was partly based on the *Qixin lun.*

100. *Yuanjue jing,* T 17.916c1.

101. Dahui here in fact misquotes Zongmi somewhat; see Zongmi's commentary, *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lüeshu,* T 39.552c23–24. Cf. his *Yuanjue jing dashu chao,* XZJ 14.168a18–b2.

102. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.940c29–941a8, emphasis added; Araki, *Daie sho,* 221. Cited in Ishii, "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 495.

103. This was clearly not the intention of Zongmi; see, e.g., his critique of the Hongzhou line of Chan discussed in Gregory, *Tsung-mi,* 236–244.

Chapter 6: The Caodong Tradition as the Target of Attacks by the Linji Tradition

1. This view is still common. See, e.g., John Jorgensen, "Chan School," in Buswell, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism,* 130–137.

2. "Mozhao ming." See chapter 7.

3. For a detailed account of the interactions between Dahui and Hongzhi in their later years, see Satō, "Wanshi bannen."

4. Cf. the discussion in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 99.

5. This idea seems to have been first suggested in Takeda, "Daie no mokushōzen hihan." It was later advanced in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," in which Yanagida does not seem aware of Takeda's earlier article. The question has been further explored in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi."

6. See, e.g., Gimello, "Mārga and Culture," n7, which refers to Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 261–274. See also Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 99–105, which seems to suggest that Dahui's attacks on silent illumination may have been simply a device to accentuate his own position and that Dahui targeted no one in particular.

7. This chapter is a revised and expanded version of Schlütter, "Twelfth-Century Caodong Tradition."

8. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b–8a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, pp. 139–140.

9. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.884c25–885a3. This sermon was given at the request of the otherwise unknown layman Qian Jiyi (d.u.). Another sermon is attributed to his request in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.872c–876b, where he is called "Zixu" in the text. The 1156 entry in the *Dahui nianpu* mentions that Dahui gave a sermon that year at the request of a Qian Zixu. See *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.13a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 118b. The sermon is translated, with many inaccuracies, in Christopher Cleary, *Swampland Flowers,* 123–128.

10. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.442b10–12. This sermon was given at the request of Fang Zi (1102–1172), who is said to have had interactions with Dahui in 1155 and 1158. See *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.12b–13a, 14a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, pp. 117, 122–123.

11. She became recognized as the first heir of Dahui. The earliest transmission history to mention her is the 1183 *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.363c.

12. A *xiaocan* sermon is a sermon type that had no fixed schedule. See *Chanyuan qinggui,* 79–81; translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 138–139. See also 271n36.

13. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.443a19–b2. Cited in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 6, p. 338a. The chronology seems off, since the three-month summer retreat would have started on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. See the 1103 manual

for Chan monasteries, *Chanyuan qinggui,* 88; translated in Yifa, *Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes,* 142. For more discussion of Miaodao Dingguang and Dahui's instructions to her, see Levering, "Miao-Tao." I am indebted to this essay for my current understanding of the passage.

14. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.443b18–c2.

15. This was Yuwang Dayuan Zunpu. He is first included in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.134a, where he is listed as an heir to Dahui.

16. Ibid., 132c–d. He is also listed as an heir to Dahui, although a note at the end of his entry states that some consider him an heir to Yuanwu Keqin.

17. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.914a–b.

18. Ibid., 913c.

19. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 140.

20. See *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.649a–654a, for the very long entry on Dahui.

21. Ibid., 652c17. Cited in Takeda, "Daie no mokushōzen hihan," 247.

22. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.884c25–28. Translated, with some inaccuracies, in Christopher Cleary, *Swampland Flowers,* 124.

23. In this sermon, Dahui refers to himself as "Yunmen." Dahui stayed at the Yunmen temple in Jiangxi between 1131 and 1133 and often referred to himself as "Yunmen" until he became abbot at Jingshan in 1137.

24. Wu Weiming came to be regarded as a dharma heir of Dahui. See *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.163a–b. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:1164.

25. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.867a21–29. Cited in Takeda, "Daie no mokushōzen hihan," 245. See also *Dahui yulu,* 868b26–29.

26. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.163a. Cited in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 6, p. 338a.

27. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:3919–3920.

28. For sources for his biography, see ibid., 2:901–903. Li Gang wrote a portrait inscription for Qingliao, but he must have had contacts with Dahui as well, since he also wrote a portrait inscription for him. See the *Liangxi quanji,* 141.8a–b, 9b–10a. Cited in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 8.

29. *Liangxi quanji,* 137.11a–12a. Cited in Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 8, p. 258.

30. The monk is unnamed. Perhaps he was a disciple of Qingliao.

31. *Zhuzi yulei,* 104.2619.4–6. Cited in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 15. The work by Liu harmonizing Confucianism and Buddhism is no longer extant.

32. Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 15.

33. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.926a–c; Araki, *Daie sho,* 92–98. The 1139 entry in the *Dahui nianpu* mentions that Dahui that year wrote letters to Liu Ziyu as well as to Liu Zihui, although we cannot know if these were the letters that today survive. See the *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.9b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 104.

34. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.163c. For sources to Liu Ziyu's biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:3918–3919.

35. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.925a–926a; Araki, *Daie sho,* 82–92.

36. For sources for his biography, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 5:3653. If the

meeting took place in 1134, as is implied, he must have been born in 1071, since in the piece his age is said to be sixty-four *sui.* Zheng Ang is also known for a postscript he wrote in 1132 for the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.465b11–c1.

37. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.885a4–c29. The story is quoted in the 1134 entry in the *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, pp. 140–141. See also the translation of the story in Christopher Cleary, *Swampland Flowers,* 124–128.

38. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.15b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 129.

39. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.863a22–864b15. The sermon is said to be a *pushuo* sermon given at the occasion of a "Bodhi meeting" (*Puti hui*), which indicates a ceremony to celebrate the enlightenment of the historical Buddha, an event that in China was believed to have taken place on the eighth day of the twelfth month. However, from the story of the nun Dingguang and from some remarks Dahui makes in the sermon (864a13), it seems he was staying at Guangyin at the time, which would have been much earlier in the year. In the *Dahui nianpu,* it is also indicated that Dahui gave the sermon at Xuefeng soon after he first came to Fujian in the spring (DNK 8.7b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 139b.) In spite of these discrepancies, there is no reason to doubt that when Dahui was in Fujian he visited Qingliao's monastery and gave a talk there. Such visits were common, and there are many examples in Chan literature of a master giving a sermon when visiting another monastery. There is also no reason to doubt that the sermon preserved in Dahui's recorded sayings is an edited version of a talk he actually gave at Qingliao's monastery.

40. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.863c19.

41. Ibid., 864a26–b3. Cited in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 8.

42. See chapter 4.

43. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.864b5–15. Cited in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 8–9. The gongan can be found in the *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu,* T 47.503b25–c2; translated in Watson, *Zen Teachings,* 88.

44. *Conglin gonglun,* XZJ 113.453b15–16. Cited in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 10.

45. The *Xinxin ming* is a poem attributed to the third patriarch of Chan, Sengcan. See T 48.376b–377a.

46. Wuwai Yiyuan is given as the compiler of the *Tiantongshan Jingdesi Rujing chanshi xu yulu,* T 48.134a–137a, and as the compiler of parts of the *Rujing heshang yulu,* T 48.128b–130c. He is not included in any traditional Chan history.

47. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.328a1–3.

48. *Zhuzi yulei,* 126.3028.16. Cited in Yanagida, "Kanna to mokushō," 15. What follows is seriously garbled, mixing up Hongzhi, Qingliao, and Dahui, and casting some doubt on the accuracy of Zhu Xi's understanding. But the part just quoted still seems valuable.

49. *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.7b; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 140.

50. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.919a8–9; Araki, *Daie sho,* 27. This is a letter to Zeng Kai (d.u.), of uncertain date. The 1134 entry in the *Dahui nianpu* mentions that Dahui that year wrote a letter (or letters) to him. Six letters exist.

51. Takeda, "Daie no mokushōzen hihan," which was published in 1966, suggests directly that the Caodong tradition as such was the target for Dahui's criticisms. However, this article has not received much attention, perhaps because it is

marred by some misreadings of the Chinese sources. Satō, "Wanshi bannen," also suggests that Dahui may have targeted various members of the Caodong tradition, perhaps at times even Hongzhi, at least before they met. In a discussion of Hongzhi's thought, Ishii Shūdō does not hesitate to call Hongzhi's Chan "silent illumination Chan" and seems to suggest that Dahui was partly reacting to Hongzhi's teaching. But Ishii also suggests that Hongzhi's Chan cannot have been the silent illumination that Dahui attacked, even though Dahui may have been skeptical about some of Hongzhi's teachings. See *Sōdai zenshū,* 331–354. Elsewhere, Ishii in various ways intimates that Dahui's attacks on silent illumination were connected to the Caodong teachings in general. See, e.g., "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 459–461.

52. Wan'an Daoyan, also known as Donglin Daoyan, was an heir to Dahui. The earliest transmission history to include him is the *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.360a–361a.

53. Not known from other sources.

54. *Chanlin baoxun,* T 48.1032c16–23. Cited in Takeda, "Daie no mokushōzen hihan," 239. Also translated, with some inaccuracies, in Thomas Cleary, *Zen Lessons,* 176–177.

55. In the 1138 entry of the *Dahui nianpu,* it is noted that Dahui wrote a letter to Fu Zhirou in that year. Three letters to Fu Zhirou are found in Dahui's collection of letters. They all include attacks on silent illumination. See *Dahui yulu,* T 47.921a–922b; Araki, *Daie sho,* 47–60. For Fu Zhirou, see Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 4:2791, and Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 533.

56. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.921a21–29; Araki, *Daie sho,* 50.

57. The *Dahui nianpu* notes that Dahui studied with Caodong masters in 1108, when he was twenty years old. DNK 8.2a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 115. The *Dahui nianpu* reports different activities in both the previous and following years and so would seem to contradict Dahui's claim of having studied for two years with Caodong teachers.

58. Not known from other sources.

59. Here, I am reading *shi* for *dan,* as amended in Ishii, "*Daie Fukaku zenji hōgo,*" 460, which is presumably based on the *gozan* edition that Ishii refers to.

60. Translation tentative. My interpretation is informed by a similar passage in the *Dahui zongmen wuku,* T 47.953a25–b25, that is more clear on this point.

61. Translation tentative.

62. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.428b19–c3. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 235.

63. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.425d3–6.

64. Daowei may in fact have been considered Daokai's most promising disciple at some point. See chapter 4.

65. Not known from other sources.

66. *Dahui zongmen wuku,* T 47.953b6.

67. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.836c13.

68. Ibid., 892a21–24.

69. See, e.g., *Hongzhi lu,* 1.8b, 4.300a, 1.77a, and *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.2a, 74b, 100a.

70. See *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.77a16, 77b15, 78c14, 78d4.

71. See *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.453a13, 453a18, 453b12.

72. See, e.g., *Dahui yulu,* T 47.884c, where Dahui mentions the first four; 882b, where he mentions "one thought lasts ten thousand years" together with several of the other expressions; and several examples already quoted where he uses "cease" and "rest."

73. Qingzhu's "dry wood congregation" is first mentioned the *Song gaoseng zhuan,* T 50.780c. For a discussion of the seven maxims, see *Zengaku daijiten,* 654b. The earliest occurrence I have found of the list of seven is in the entry on Shishuang's student Jiufeng Daoqian (d. 921) in the 1183 *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.395d. Here, in a story about how Daoqian challenged the understanding of the monk chosen to take over the congregation after the death of Shishuang, Daoqian quotes the seven instructions. The same story about Daoqian is also found in the earlier (1123) *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.232b; here, two of the seven instructions are mentioned. Shishuang Qingzhu was understood to be a fourth-generation descendant of Huineng's disciple Qingyuan Xingsi.

74. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.733c21–22c.

75. Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 222. The poem is inscribed on a still-extant stele in Ningbo. See Kurebayashi, "Daie Sōkō no Wanshi zenji zōsan," 181–184. It is also found in the *Dahui yulu,* T 47.833a, and in several other places, but the amended version by Satō is preferable.

76. This section is especially indebted to the detailed account of Hongzhi's last years in Satō, "Wanshi bannen."

77. The *Luohu yelu* does have a story of how Dahui, after having become abbot at Jingshan in 1137, commented on a poem Hongzhi wrote upon visiting a certain place. See XZJ 142.495d. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 243n10.

78. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.921a–922b; Araki, *Daie sho,* 47–60.

79. See the Song edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings, the *Hongzhi lu,* 1.1. This preface is not found in the Taishō edition.

80. According to the *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.11a (Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 110), in 1144, Dahui wrote a short inscription for a hall or pavilion Fu had built. The text of the inscription is in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.856c. The *Dahui nianpu* also lists Fu as one of Dahui's followers, and it seems likely that he was converted to Dahui's approach in the end.

81. See, e.g., for "beyond the primordial Buddha," *Hongzhi lu,* 2.113a4, 3.175a12, 3.168b11, 3.174a5, 3.187a11, 4.313b5; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.26a8, 36c2, 39b28, 41a13, 44c5, 78a2–3.

82. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.925a27; Araki, *Daie sho,* 83. Dahui uses this expression in several places to describe the heretical silent illumination Chan. See also *Dahui yulu,* T 47.941c2–4; Araki, *Daie sho,* 228; and *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.464d16.

83. *Hongzhi lu,* 3.159b5; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.37a8.

84. In the Song edition, the "Mozhao ming" is placed at the end of the section that has Fu Zhirou's preface. See the *Hongzhi lu,* 1.77a10–78a2.

85. This is mentioned in "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi houlu xu," in *Tiantong si zhi,* 8.2a3–5; see also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 321. I have not found this story in any other source.

86. *Rentian baojian,* XZJ 148.66d. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen."

87. This is mentioned in several sources. See, e.g., "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi

xingye ji," in *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.120c7, and *Hongzhi lu,* 4.321b10–322a1. See also *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.14a5; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 2, p. 121b.

88. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.318b1. See the discussion in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 384.

89. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.443c5–7.

90. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 351n1.

91. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.428d. Also translated in Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years,* 93, and Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 263. Cf. *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.422d, 443c.

92. See *Hongzhi lu,* 4.310b4; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.77a28–29; and the discussion in chapter 7.

93. Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 222. The poem appears to have been committed to stone already in 1158 (in the style of Dahui's handwriting), and there is little doubt that it quite faithfully records Dahui's words.

94. The term *quqie* literally means a "prized-open box" (as done by a thief). It is the title of one of the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (10.342). I am not sure what the term is meant to connote here.

95. See the Ming canon text in Ishii, *Wanshi roku,* pt. 1, pp. 16, 516. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 239.

96. The poem is also found in Lu You's *Weinan wenji,* 22.5a.

97. But see the 1697 *Wudeng quanshu,* XZJ 140.139c16–18, where it is related that Dahui suffered from boils on his back and shouted out day and night at Jingshan. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 245n27.

98. *Xiyan heshang yulu,* XZJ 122.170b1–5. Cited in Satō, "Wanshi bannen," 239–240, and in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 355. Liaohui does not actually use the names of Hongzhi and Dahui, but refers to them as the "two old masters from Xizhou and Xuanzhou."

99. For example, Huihong, who was a great supporter of Daokai, criticized those who misunderstood the example of Bodhidharma and just sat like dry wood and cold ashes (*Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.295d7–12), and in his meditation manual, Changlu Zongze notes that Fayun Yuantong (Fayun Faxiu) criticized those who meditate with eyes closed in the "ghostly cave under the dark mountain." Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 279; translated in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 180.

100. First mentioned in the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.91d–93a, in a very long entry with some biographical notes.

101. *Dahui zongmen wuku,* T 47.948a–b.

102. See, e.g., *Dahui yulu,* T 47.921a21; Araki, *Daie sho,* 50.

103. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.921b22–23; Araki, *Daie sho,* 50.

104. It should be noted that the Linji lineage continued as the largest Chan tradition through the Southern Song. In Dahui's generation of the Yangqi branch of the Linji lineage, more than a hundred persons can be counted. See the chart in *Zengaku daijiten,* 3:13.

105. First mentioned in the *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.350b.

106. See Fatai's record in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.498c.

107. Mingfu, *Zhongguo foxue renming cidian,* 715.

108. *Zongtong biannian,* XZJ 147.199b11–c9.

109. Tsuchiya, "Shinjō Kokubun no mujizen hihan."

110. See Kewen's record in *Gu zunsu yulu,* XZJ 118.373a8–11. Dahui quotes this passage in what seems an attempt to justify his own attacks. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.882a29–b3; cf. 923a–b.

111. *Qiyuan zhengyi,* XZJ 111.85a–d.

112. *Gu zunsu yulu,* XZJ 118.365c1–2.

113. Ibid., 352d.

114. Chang Bide, *Songren zhuanji,* 2:571.

115. See Kewen's letter in the *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.322a11–b5, and the reference in *Dahui yulu,* T 47.923a21–b9.

116. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.224a18–b6.

117. *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.380a11–14. Also translated in Cleary and Cleary, *Zen Letters,* 99.

118. *Pingshi Rudi chanshi yulu,* XZJ 122.374a1–b5.

119. See "En chanshi taming," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.20b; and Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 438.

120. *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.302c5–10.

121. *Xuetang Xingshe yilu,* XZJ 142.479d17–480a5.

122. *Tangwen cui,* 62.7b–10b. Cited in Jia, *Hongzhou School,* 28. See also Yinshun, *Zhongguo chanzong shi,* 417–420, who views the inscription as spurious.

123. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.772a18–b1.

124. See *Dahui yulu,* T 47.904a, 907b. Cited in Yinshun, *Zhongguo chanzong shi,* 420.

125. *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.369d.

126. *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.82a.

127. See the *Zutang ji,* 1.156; the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.309c; the *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.24c; the *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.369c; the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 127.2d; and the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.114b.

128. Faqin was a descendant in the Niutou (Oxhead) lineage, which traced itself back to the fourth patriarch, Daoxin. He is first mentioned in the *Zutang ji,* 2.127–128.

129. *Song gaoseng zhuan,* T 50.769a.

130. According to Huihong, the *Wujia zongpai* was compiled in the Jiayou period (1056–1064). See the *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.220d2–3.

131. *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.296c.

132. *Rentian yanmu,* T 48.328b–c.

133. See also the detailed discussion of Tianhuang Daowu in Jia, *Hongzhou School,* 22–26.

134. *Zuting shiyuan,* XZJ 113.2c.

135. *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.296c.

136. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.221d.

Chapter 7: Silent Illumination and the Caodong Tradition

1. Some of the material in this chapter can be found in an earlier form in Schlütter, "Silent Illumination."

2. The Song edition is entitled *Hongzhi lu.* It is in six volumes and has been

dated to the years after 1201. As noted earlier, the *Hongzhi lu* is photographically reproduced in Ishii, *Wanshi roku,* 1:1–467. For a discussion of this text and its discovery by modern scholars, see Ishii, "*Wanshi kōroku* kō." See also Schlütter, "*Record of Hongzhi.*"

3. *Hongzhi chanshi guanglu* (Jpn.: Wanshi zenji kōroku), T 48.1–120.

4. See, e.g., *Zengaku daijiten,* 1225d, and Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism,* 1:256–257.

5. *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.100a–b.

6. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.77–78.

7. There are two translations into English of this poem that I have consulted. A partial and very free English rendition is found in Sheng-yen, *Getting the Buddha Mind,* 75–76, and a full, more literal translation is included in Leighton, *Cultivating the Empty Field,* 52–54. An interpretive translation into modern Japanese with a commentary appears in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 333–336. The verses are arranged in rhyming pairs, and I have grouped them into stanzas and numbered them accordingly.

8. This alludes to a story in the *Han Feizi,* fasc. 4, no. 13. For an English translation, see Watson, *Han Fei Tzu,* 80, cited in Leighton, *Cultivating the Empty Field,* 84n21.

9. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.77a9–78b10; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.100a26–b14. The last line could also be read "make no mistake in expounding it."

10. See Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan,* T 46.1–141. For a study and English translation of the first chapter of this work, see Donner and Stevenson, *Great Calming.* See also the study by Sekiguchi, *Tendai shikan no kenkyū.*

11. Outside of the "Mozhao ming," the expression is found in the *Hongzhi lu,* 3.197b6, 5.368a6, 6.458a1; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.47a23, 96a25, 113a18.

12. It is interesting to note that the "Mozhao ming" seems to have been lost in China, together with the Song edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings. It is not included in the rather short Ming edition of Hongzhi's recorded sayings that survived in China, nor is the term "silent illumination" found in it at all. See the reproduced text of the Ming edition in Ishii, *Wanshi roku,* vol. 3.

13. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.6a7–8; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.1c2–3.

14. This appears to have been largely taken from a poem attributed to Prajñātāra in the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.218b18–22. This passage is criticized by Zhu Xi in *Zhuzi yulei,* 126, 3020. I am grateful to Peter N. Gregory for pointing this out to me.

15. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.251b2–5; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.61a25. The Changsha monk is Changsha Jingcen (d. 868). The quote is probably taken from the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.274b17, although here instead of "awaken" (*wu*), the word "know" (*shi*) is used.

16. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.272a4–8; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.66c26–67a3.

17. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.8b1–3; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.2a21–24.

18. The three realms are the realm of sensuous desire, the realm of subtle matter, and the formless realm, which together constitute the entirety of the phenomenal world of birth and rebirth, saṃsāra.

19. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.270b3–5; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.66b8–10.

20. Hongzhi did write a "Zuochan zhen," (*Hongzhi lu,* 6.465a; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.98a–b), but despite its title it contains no actual discussion of meditation. See the translation and discussion in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 100.

21. *Hongzhi lu,* 3.154a1–3; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.35b25–27.

22. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.80a7–8; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.100c28–29.

23. For invocations of Bodhidharma's wall contemplation, see *Hongzhi lu,* 1.13a5, 2.82a9, 3.156b5, 3.197b6, 5.324a10; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.3b12, 18c6, 36b6–7, 47a23, 101b17–18. McRae, *Northern School,* 112–115, suggests that "wall contemplation" (*biguan*) should be understood as "contemplating like a wall," but that does not seem to be how it was understood in Song Chan.

24. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.237a7; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.57b18. The *Hongzhi guanglu* has the mistake *nian* (to pick up with the fingers) for *ku* (withered).

25. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.319a17–18; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.120b14. The *Hongzhi guanglu* has the mistake *zuo* (a seat) for *zuo* (to sit).

26. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.314b7–9; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.78b7–8. Also translated in Leighton, *Cultivating the Empty Field,* 36.

27. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.297b4; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.73c13.

28. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.297b5; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.73c14.

29. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.249b1–4; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.60c5–9.

30. *Qixin lun,* T 32.576c11–15. See also the *Laṇkāvatāra-sūtra,* T 16.538c, and Dongshan Liangjie's use of the metaphor in the *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 136.353, cited in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 82.

31. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.246b12–247b2; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.60a15–16. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 349.

32. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.300a10–301a2; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.74b25–c2. Cited in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 345. Also translated in Leighton, *Cultivating the Empty Field,* 10.

33. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.82a–119b, 120a–148b; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.18b–27b, 27c–35a.

34. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.272b7–9; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.67a18–20. The translation is from Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust,* 172.

35. E.g., *Dahui pushuo,* 1.31.5.428d. Cited in Levering, "Ch'an Enlightenment," 263.

36. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.310b4; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.77a28–29. Also translated in Leighton, *Cultivating the Empty Field,* 28.

37. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter 4, both enlightenment stories can be seen as a ritualized confirmation of the doctrine of inherent Buddha-nature. See Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon."

38. See the *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.300–326. The first fascicle, based on a Japanese 1767 edition, contains the *Jiewai lu,* seemingly dating to Qingliao's time at Changlu. The second fascicle contains Qingliao's prose commentary to Sengcan's *Xinxin ming.* However, there is some reason to doubt the authenticity of this text. See Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 456–461, and Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 8. Additional material attributed to Qingliao is found in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.454c–455d. It seems likely this material comes from a collection of Qingliao's recorded sayings from his time at Xuefeng called the *Yizhang lu,* known from a 1134 preface to it; see Ishii, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshitachi," pt. 8. Finally, the transmission histories contain some sermon and dialogue material associated with Qingliao that is not found in the two other sources.

39. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.314a18–b2.

40. Ibid., 313d7–8. A similar passage is found in Qingliao's entry in the transmission histories, earliest in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.76a6–8: "When you get to a point when your whole body is red and rotten, only then you will know that which is inside the door. Further, you must know what it is that does not go out the door."

41. *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.455d5.

42. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.311b3.

43. E.g., ibid., 323c13–14: "You should be like a baby who doesn't distinguish between north and south or know the difference between the six senses. You should rest your head at once and naturally be vacuous and bright and self-illuminating."

44. E.g., ibid., 320a10–13.

45. Ibid., 325d16–17. Cited in Nukariya, *Zengaku shisō shi,* 283.

46. Huizhao Qingyu, who after Hongzhi and Qingliao was the most well known and successful of Danxia Zichun's disciples, has no extant recorded sayings. The transmission histories give no indication that Qingyu taught a silent illumination approach. See the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.77a; the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.271c; and the *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.580c, which all contain roughly the same entry on Qingyu.

47. For the entries on Qingliao, see the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.75c, 208b; the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.269d; and the *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.579c. For the entries on Hongzhi, see the *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.461c; the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.76b, 95b; the *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.270c; and the *Xu chuandeng lu,* T 51.579a.

48. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.78c15.

49. Ibid., 78d.

50. See, e.g., the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.77a16, 77b15, 78c14, 78d4.

51. See the summarized biographies in Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," chapters 4 and 5.

52. Daniel L. Overmeyer and Joseph A. Adler, "Chinese Religion," in Jones, *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 3:1604. Virtually the same passage is found in the earlier edition. See Daniel Overmeyer, "Chinese Religion," in Eliade and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Religion,* 3:280–281.

53. Comparisons are sometimes made between Caodong and the Northern school of early Chan. See, e.g., Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi,* 101.

54. Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," 77.

55. Powell, "Record of Tung-shan," 142.

56. Interestingly, however, several masters descending from Liangjie are reported to have used blows in their interactions with students. See, e.g., the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.338c4, 363c3, 364a28, 366b19; and the *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.420c10, 423b9, and 426b17.

57. Liangjie's recorded sayings contain much material that cannot be found in the *Zutang ji* or the *Chuandeng lu.* See the table in Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 3:91–102. See also the remarks on the lateness of Liangjie's record in Levering, "Review of William F. Powell."

58. The entry on Dongshan Liangjie is found in the *Zutang ji,* 2.49–71. His disciples are on 2.117–156, and his second-generation descendants on 3.109–118.

59. The entries on members of the Caodong lineage are found in *Song gaoseng*

zhuan, 51.780a1–16, 781b9–c6, 786b16–c3, 788b17–c4, 883c16–884a20, 886b16–29, 886c1–887a9, 898b20–c18.

60. See the *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.321b–323b, for the record of Dongshan Liangjie; 334c–340c for records of his disciples; 361c–368c for his second-generation disciples; 394c–396c for the third-generation descendants; 406a–407a for the fourth-generation descendants; and 421b–c for his lone fifth-generation descendant, Dayang Jingxuan.

61. See the records of the Caodong monks included in the *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.418a–426b.

62. Of course, it still is uncertain to which degree, if any, the records in even these early histories reflect what these masters might actually have taught.

63. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.321c19, 290b1.

64. Ibid., 337a21, 337b14.

65. The text of this poem is most readily accessible in the *Ruizhou Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu,* T 47.525c24–526a19. See the translation into English in Powell, *Record of Tung-shan,* 63–65.

66. The entries on the "Baojing sanmei" in *Zengaku daijiten,* 1125a; the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* 10:140; and *Shinsan zenseki mokuroku,* 453, all give Liangjie as its author.

67. See the *Ruizhou Dongshan Liangjie chanshi yulu,* T 47.525c23; Powell, *Record of Tung-shan,* 63.

68. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.222b12–c13. Huihong also mentions the "Baojing sanmei" in his *Linjian lu,* XZJ 148.300b, and in the *Shimen wenzi chan,* 12.4a.

69. *Sengbao zhuan,* XZJ 137.224a18–b6.

70. *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.396a.

71. *Guangdeng lu,* XZJ 135.420a–422d.

72. Ibid., 420b3, 420b6, 421d3, 422a6–7, 422b1–2.

73. Ibid., 31c.

74. See *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.394c–396c, 406a–407a.

75. See, e.g., the record of the famous Linji master Fenxue Yanzhao (896 or 887–973) in ibid., 302a–303c.

76. *Rentian yanmu,* T 48.300–336. Material on the Caodong tradition is found on 313c–321b.

77. See, e.g., the discussion in Kajitani, "Daie no kōan zen to Wanshi no mokushōzen," 225–228, and in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 336.

78. *Xinxin ming,* T 48.376b–377a.

79. "Cantongqi," in *Chuandeng lu,* T 51.459b.

80. *Shuzhou Touzishan Miaoxu dashi yulu,* XZJ 124.240–243. For a discussion of this text, see Ishii, "Sōdai Sōtōshū zenseki kō," 200–203, and Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 449–451.

81. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.222–239. This edition consists of two fascicles: a collection of sermons and writings edited by Zijue and a collection of poetic gongan commentary (*songgu*), for which no editor is mentioned. The edition contains Li Chongyuan's preface dated 1084, the year in which Yiqing is said to have passed away. The same preface is attached to the 1342 *Sijia lu* edition of Yiqing's

songgu collection, and, as discussed in chapter 4, evidence points to this preface as being genuine. The *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.40d, and *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.452d, both contain sermons and writings attributed to Yiqing; however, all of this material is also found in the recorded sayings included in the Japanese 1725 edition. For more discussion of this work, see Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 441–449.

82. *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.224a1–4.

83. Ibid., 222c14, 227c18–228a1, 231c14.

84. Ibid., 222d1.

85. Ibid., 222c3–4, 223a13, 224d11, 228a14, 228b16.

86. Ibid., 225a4–5.

87. However, see the discussion of the *Yiqing xingzhuang* below.

88. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.178a–c, 204d–205b; *Liandeng huiyao,* XZJ 136.460a–b; *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.41d–42d; *Wudeng huiyuan,* XZJ 138.265d.

89. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.178a4, 178b2.

90. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.55d, 79b.

91. *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.452d–454d.

92. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.177b; *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.41a, 73c, 204d.

93. *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.453d11–16.

94. Daokai also refers to Shishuang Qingzhu and his dry wood congregation in his piece on monastic purity. See ibid., 454a11.

95. Ibid., 453c12–15.

96. Ibid., 453a13, 453a18, 453b12.

97. Ibid., 453a14, 454b12.

98. *Xudeng lu,* XZJ 136.177d2–3; *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 119.453a2–3.

99. *Danxia Zichun chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.243–257. The text is a reprint of a Japanese 1710 edition in two fascicles, which itself is based on a Japanese manuscript from the fifteenth century. The first fascicle consists of a collection of recorded sayings from Danxia Zichun's time at Dahong, i.e., from 1115 to his death in 1117, for which his disciple Qingyu is given as the editor. I believe this text can be accepted as essentially the edition Qingyu prepared. The second fascicle is subtitled *Zengji Danxia Chun chanshi yulu.* This fascicle consists of some sermon material apparently culled from the *Pudeng lu* and a collection of 101 *songgu* poems. These poems exist in various other editions and can be traced back to at least 1175. See the discussion in Schlütter, "Chan Buddhism," 452–456.

100. *Danxia Zichun chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.244b10–18.

101. Ibid., 243d7, 245b14.

102. Ibid., 243d8, 245b8, 246c18.

103. Ibid., 245a15.

104. Han Shao (d.u.), "Suizhou Dahongshan shifang Chongning Baoshou chanyuan disidai zhuchi Chun chanshi taming bing xu," in *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.24b11. See also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 455.

105. *Hubei jinshi zhi,* 10.25b2; Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 457.

106. *Beishan ji,* 32.7b8–8a1. See also Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 466.

107. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 117.288c10–d1. Translation slightly modified from Schlütter, "Before the Empty Eon."

108. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 117.288d16–19. Translation slightly modified from Schlütter, "Silent Illumination."

109. The most famous occurrence of this gongan is in the *Biyan lu,* T 48.178c (case 41). The earliest occurrence of it may be in the gongan collection by Xuedou Chongxian on which the *Biyan lu* was based.

110. *Sengbao zhengxu zhuan,* XZJ 117.289a3–4. This seems like a reverse echo of Confucius' famous answer to a question about the afterlife: "If you still do not understand life, how can you understand death?" *Lunyu,* 11:11, in Legge, *Four Books,* 264.

111. In the section of additional sermon material in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.178d–179b, a long piece by Weizhao is included in which he talks of the "great death" several times. Weizhao's regular entry in the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.54d–55c, does not contain any mention of the great death nor use any other silent illumination vocabulary, but in it Weizhao emphasizes the futility of study.

112. Hongzhi refers to Zhaozhou's "great death" gongan several times but does not use the expression in any other context. See *Hongzhi lu,* 1.63a1, 2.105b4, 4.258b7; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.16a8, 24a28, 63a26.

113. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.55c.

114. See *Touzi Qing heshang yulu,* XZJ 124.238b–d.

115. Ibid., 238d9–11.

116. Ibid., 238d11–12.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., 238c1.

119. Ibid., 238c12–13.

120. Ibid., 238c16.

121. Ibid., 238d12.

122. See the Chinese text in Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* 5–6, and the English translation, 135.

123. See, e.g., the Kōshōji edition, probably from 1153, in Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō,* 52–59.

124. The earliest extant version of this story is found in the *Zutang ji,* 1.143–144.

125. See the Chinese text in Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra,* 29, and the English translation, 181. This passage was removed in the Yuan edition that became the orthodox one but was still present in the editions that were known in the Song.

126. It is quite possible that meditation instructions were given orally but perceived to be unsuitable for publication. It is also possible that part of the reason why no instructions for meditation were written down was that the technique was so simple, easily taught to novices in a monastic setting.

127. See the discussion in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 57, 69.

128. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 279–284; *Chanyuan qinggui,* XZJ 111.460c–461a. See Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 55–77, for a discussion of the text.

129. The *Zuochan yi* is not included the 1254 version of the *Chanyuan qinggui* found in Korea, which itself appears to be based on a 1111 Chinese edition, and it therefore would seem to be a later addition. See Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 7, and Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 57.

130. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 279–281.

131. Ibid., 281. Translation based on Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 181, with some changes.

132. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 281. Translation based on Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 182, with some changes.

133. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 283. See the *Yuanjue jing,* T 17.919a21. Translation slightly changed from Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 183; cf. 82.

134. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 283; Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 187, with some changes.

135. Interestingly, Dōgen, who based his own meditation manual on Zongze's text, did see the need to introduce some reference to more "Chan-like" behavior. See Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 184.

136. Ibid., 78–98.

137. *Shōwa hōbō sō mokuroku,* 3.1305a–b. See Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 148–150, for a comparison of the texts of this and other editions of the *Zuochan yi.*

138. See the comparison of the *Zuochan yi* with Dōgen's meditation manual in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 174–187.

139. For remarks to this effect, see ibid., 79, 83.

140. A partly rewritten version of Zongze's *Zuochan yi* is included in the Yuan-dynasty Chan code, the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui,* T 48.1143a4–b1.

141. The text is found in a special section of the *Pudeng lu* where selected sermons and writings are reproduced, XZJ 137.216a18–b8. In the regular entry on Bencai in the *Pudeng lu,* 83d3–84a4, it is said that he died in the Shaoxing period.

142. Ibid., 216a15–16.

143. Ibid., 216a18–b8. The piece is also translated in Thomas Cleary, *Minding Mind,* 20–21.

144. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.216b8–9.

145. The enlightenment episode reported by the famous modern master Xu-yun (1840–1959) is illustrative: after a period of intense meditation, Xuyun had an experience where he could see through the walls of the meditation hall, and shortly afterward he had a great enlightenment when the meditation hall attendant served tea and spilled the hot liquid on Xuyun's hand, causing him to drop and shatter the cup. Xu Yun, *Empty Cloud,* 38–39.

146. *Hongzhi lu,* 1.50b6, 3.220b10; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.13a7, 53b23–24.

147. *Hongzhi lu,* 4.313a7; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.77c20.

148. *Yuanwu Foguo chanshi yulu,* T 47.775c25, 785c21, 788c3; *Foguo Keqin xinyao,* XZJ 120.350d10, 371a1, 481b3–4 (also 389a10, which is identical to T 47.785c21).

149. See his sermon in the *Xu gu zunsu yuyao,* XZJ 118.424a18–b9.

150. *Rentian yanmu,* T 48.328c14–16, cited in Jiang Wu, "Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism," 147. My understanding of this passage is partly informed by Wu's translation.

151. The author of the preface is given as Juemengtang. Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū,* 2:459, identifies him with Mengtang Tan'e (1285–1373) without explaining why. The *Rentian yanmu* was first published in 1188, but the current edition is from 1586.

152. Yanagida, "Bukkyō to Shushi," 12–13, notes in a discussion of Qingliao's

thought that the silent illumination approach overall was well in tune with earlier Chan. Cited in Shinohara, "Ta-hui's Instructions," 190.

153. See Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 344, who states that Dahui challenged the Tang Chan emphasis on inherent enlightenment.

Conclusion

1. This point is forcefully made in Foulk, "Ch'an School" and "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice."

2. See Wang Wei's (700–761) inscription for Huineng, "Neng chanshi bei," *Quan Tangwen,* 326.1485a–c. Of course, Wang Wei himself was one of the most famous scholars of his day.

3. Wang Boxiang, "Chishi Hongzhi chanshi xingye ji," in *Hongzhi lu,* 4.316a; *Hongzhi guanglu,* T 48.119c.

4. *Qiyuan zhengyi,* XZJ 111.85a–d. See also the similar remarks in Ishii, "Fuyō Dōkai to Tanka Shijun."

5. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.857a. See also *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.1a; Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 112a.

6. *Dahui yulu,* T 47.935c–936b; Araki, *Daie sho,* 176–180.

7. For Zhao Lingjin's interactions with Dahui, see *Dahui nianpu,* DNK 8.5a, 9a, 9b, 15a; Ishii "Daie nenpu," pt. 1, p. 118b, and pt. 2, pp. 101b, 108a, 126b. In the *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.13a, Zhao appears as the heir to Yuanwu Keqin.

8. Han Ju's epitaph for Huiguang is mentioned in the *Yunwo jitan,* XZJ 148.13c. For some discussion of Dahui's relations with Han Ju, see Levering, "Dahui Zonggao."

9. See Ishii, "Daie nenpu," pt. 3, p. 166, for a summary of Feng Ji's relations with Dahui.

10. See some examples of this in Halperin, *Out of the Cloister,* 62–111.

11. Ibid., 32–61, argues that members of the Tang educated elite were much more overtly devout in their writings on Buddhism than their Song counterparts.

12. See, e.g., the discussion of Northern Song Chan and the literati in Gimello, "Mārga and Culture." Note also the rarity of laymen being listed as dharma heirs of pre-twelfth-century Chan masters in the genealogical tables in *Zengaku daijiten,* 3:1–20.

13. Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, *Yakuchū zennen shingi,* 279.

14. See Shiina, *Sō Gen-ban zenseki,* 42. This text is now lost.

15. *Zhenxie Qingliao chanshi yulu,* XZJ 124.314a18–b1.

16. *Pudeng lu,* XZJ 137.78c15.

17. *Liangxi quanji,* 137.11a–12a.

18. There were three mediums by which Dahui taught laypeople: *pushuo* sermons, which were almost all given at the request of laypeople; *fayu* sermons, which were mostly written for laypeople; and letters, all of which that are still extant were written to laypeople. Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals,* 104, has also noted that Dahui's attacks on silent illumination and his advocacy of kanhua Chan were directed mainly to laypeople.

19. See *Dahui yulu,* T 47.811a–829b, 836b–850b, for his pre-exile monastic sermons, and 829b–836b for his post-exile monastic sermons.

20. Dahui discusses silent illumination in ibid., 828b16–19, from when he was first at Jingshan, and 836a28–b5, from his second tenure at Jingshan (although here he does not use the term). These are the only two instances I have found where Dahui addresses the problem of silent illumination in talks that seem to have been specifically directed to a monastic audience.

21. This was the case both before and after his enlightenment experience. See the juxtaposed sources to Hongzhi's biography in Ishii, *Sōdai zenshū,* 295–326.

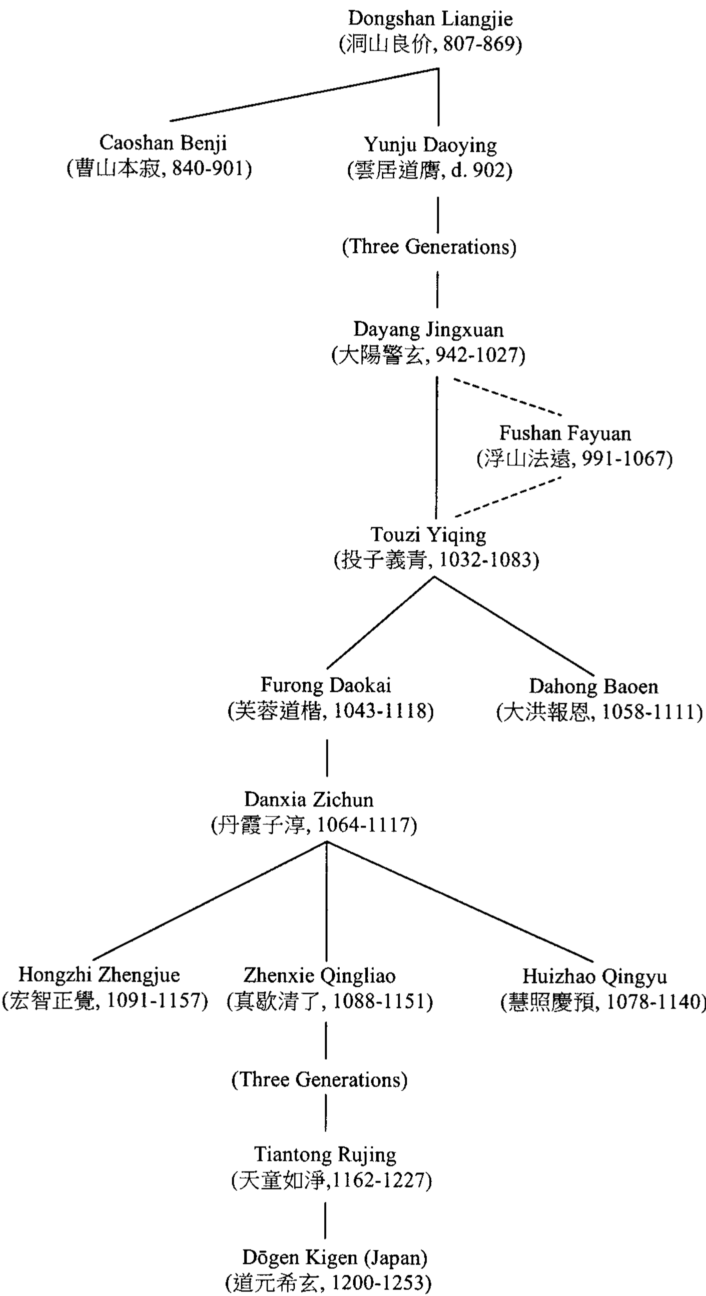
22. For example, a lawsuit was brought in 1654 by a Caodong master against a Linji master who the Caodong master claimed had distorted the Caodong lineage in a work he had written. See Wu, "Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism," 109–178.

23. See the *Xueyan Zuqin heshang yulu,* XZJ 122.256d12–16. Cited in Pei-yi Wu, *Confucian's Progress.* I am grateful to Miriam Levering for pointing out the passage to me.

24. See the recorded sayings of Tiantong Rujing in Kagamishima, *Tendō Nyojō zenji no kenkyū,* 282.

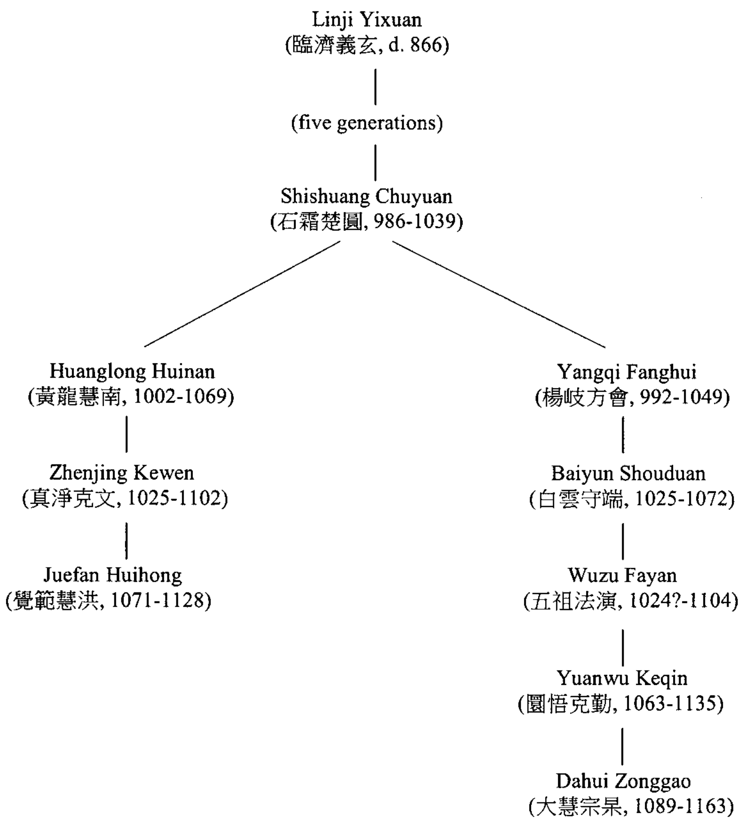
The Caodong Lineage

(Selected Masters)



The Linji Lineage

(Selected Masters)



Glossary

Names

Ayuwang 阿育王
Baima 白馬
Baiyun 白雲
Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814)
Baoben Huiyuan 報本慧元 (1037–1091)
Baoen See Dahong Baoen
Baoning Yuanji 保寧圓璣 (1036–1118)
Baoyun chanyuan 寶雲禪院
Basheng Qingjian 八聖清簡 (957–1014)
Beidu 北都
Bei Song 北宋 (Northern Song; 960–1127)
Bei Wei 北魏 (Northern Wei; 386–534)
Bodhidharma (Putidamo 菩提達摩, d. ca. 530)
Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047–1126)
Cai Tao 蔡絛 (active 1127)
Caodong 曹洞
Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂 (840–901)
Caotang Shanqing 草堂善清 (1057–1142)
Chang'an 長安
Changlu 長蘆
Changlu Yingfu 長蘆應夫 (d.u.)
Changlu Zongze 長蘆宗賾 (d.u.)
Changsha Jingcen 長沙景岑 (d. 868)
Chanti Weizhao 闡提惟照 (1084–1128)
Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053–1110)
Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078–1144)
Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107)
Chen Jiren 陳季任 See Chen Jue
Chen Jue 陳桷 (a.k.a. Chen Jiren; 1091–1154)
Chen Zhang 陳璋 (d.u.)
Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (ca. 1190–after 1249)
Chinul 智訥 (1158–1210)
Chongan See Lingyan Chongan
Chongning 崇寧
Chongxian xianxiao 崇先顯孝
Chuan 傳 (d.u.)
Chuanjiao 傳教
Ciren Lingji 慈忍靈濟 (a.k.a. Shanxin; d.u.)
Cishou Huaishen 慈受懷深 (1077–1132)
Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲尊式 (964–1032)
Dafayun 大法雲
Daguan Tanying 達觀曇穎 (989–1060)
Dagui Zhenru Muzhe 大溈真如慕哲 (d. 1095)
Dahong 大洪
Dahong Baoen 大洪報恩 (1058–1111)
Dahong Qingxian 大洪慶顯 (probably 1103–1180)
Dahong Shanzhi 大洪善智 (d.u.)
Dahui See Dahui Zonggao
Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (a.k.a. Miaoxi; 1089–1163)
Damei 大梅
Damei Juxu 大梅居煦 (d.u.)
Daming 大名
Danxia Zichun 丹霞子淳 (1064–1117)
Daoan 道安 (312–385)
Daokai. See Furong Daokai
Daopi See Tongan Daopi
Daoqi See Yunju Daoqi

Daowei 道微 (a.k.a. Dongshan Wei; d.u.)
Daoxin 道信 (580–651)
Daoying See Yunju Daoying
Daoyue 道悅 (d.u.)
Dayang 大陽
Dayang Dan 大陽旦 (d.u)
Dayang Huijian 大陽慧堅 (a.k.a. Jian; d.u.)
Dayang Jingxuan 大陽警玄 (a.k.a. Jingyan, Ming'an, Yan; 942–1027)
Dayong Qilian 大用齊璉 (1077–1144)
Dazhong Xiangfu [era] 大中祥符 (1008–1017)
Deguang See Fozhao Deguang
Deshan 德山
Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (782–865)
Deshao See Tiantai Deshao
Dingguang See Miaodao Dingguang
Dingzhao 定照
Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253)
Dongjing 東京
Donglin 東林
Donglin Changzong 東林常總 (a.k.a Donglin Zhaojue, 1025–1091)
Donglin Daoyan 東林道顏 See Wan'an Daoyan
Donglin Zhaojue 東林照覺 See Donglin Changzong
Dongshan 洞山
Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869)
Dongshan Wei 洞山微 See Daowei
Ehu Zipeng 鵝湖子亨 (d.u.)
Ennin 圓仁 (794–864 or later)
Facheng See Kumu Facheng
Fadeng See Lumen Fadeng
Falin 法琳 (572–640)
Fan Chunren 范純仁 (1027–1101)
Fang Zi 方滋 (1102–1172)
Fan Yu 范域 (d.u.)
Fan Zongyin 范宗尹 (1098–1136)
Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1128)
Faru 法如 (638–689)
Fatai See Foxing Fatai
Fayan 法眼
Fayan See Fayan Wenyi
Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958)
Fayuan See Fushan Fayuan
Fayun 法雲
Fayun Faxiu 法雲法秀 (a.k.a. Fayun Yuantong, Yuantong Faxiu; 1027–1090)
Fayun Yuantong 法雲圓通 See Fayun Faxiu
Feng Ji 馮檝 (d. 1152)
Fengshan Shouquan 鳳山守詮 (d.u.)
Feng Wenshu 馮溫舒 (d.u.)
Fenxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896 or 887–973)
Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024)
Foguo Weibai 佛國惟白 (d.u.)
Fojian Huiqin 佛鑑慧懃 (1059–1117)
Fori 佛日
Foxin Bencai 佛心本才 (d.u.)
Foxing Fatai 佛性法泰 (d.u.)
Foyan Qingyuan 佛眼清遠 (1067–1120)
Foyin Liaoyuan 佛印了元 (1031–1098)
Fozhao Deguang 佛照德光 (1121–1203)
Fozhao Gao 佛照杲 (d.u.)
Furong 芙蓉
Furong Daokai 芙蓉道楷 (1043–1118)
Fushan Fayuan 浮山法遠 (991–1067)
Fuyan 福嚴
Fuyan Cigan 福嚴慈感 (d.u.)
Fu Zhirou 富直柔 (d. 1156)
Fuzhou 福州
Ganyuan 乾元
Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162)
Guanding 灌頂 (561–632)
Guangli 廣利
Guangyin 廣因
Guanzhi See Tongan Guanzhi
Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841)
Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853)
Guiyang 溈仰
Guiyang Huichong 龜洋惠忠 (d.u.)
Guizong Yirou 歸宗義柔 (d. 993)
Guoqing 國清

Guoqing Xingji 國清行機 (d.u.)
Haihui 海會
Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴 (1685–1768)
Han Ju 韓駒 (a.k.a. Zicang; d. 1135)
Han Shao 韓韶 (d.u.)
Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)
Han Zhen 韓縝 (1019–1097)
Hongguang [era] 弘光 (1644–1645)
Hongren 弘忍 (601–674)
Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091–1157)
Hongzhou Jianchang Fengqishan Tongan 洪州建昌鳳棲山同安 (d.u.)
Hou Yanqing 侯延慶 (active 1115–1145)
Hou Zhou 後周 (Latter Zhou; 951–960)
Huajie 花界
Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045–1105)
Huangbo Xiyun 黄蘗希運 (d. between 847 and 859)
Huanglong 黄龍
Huanglong Huinan 黄龍慧南 (1002–1069)
Huanglong *pai* 黄龍派
Huayan 華嚴
Huian 慧安 See Laoan
Huichang 會昌 [era] (841–847)
Huihong see Juefan Huihong
Huike 慧可 (ca. 485–ca. 555 or after 574)
Huilin Dexun 慧林德遜 (d. 1107 or 1110)
Huineng 惠能 (638–713)
Huiri 慧日
Huizhao Qingyu 慧照慶預 (1078–1140)
Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126)
Hunan 湖南
Hyesim 慧諶 (1178–1234)
Jian 堅 (attendant, d.u.)
Jian See Dayang Huijian
Ji'an 寂菴 See Zhenxie Qingliao
Jiangnan 江南
Jiang Xiufu 江休復 (1005–1060)
Jiangzhou 江州
Jianyan [era] 建炎 (1127–1131)
Jianzhong Jingguo [era] 建中靖國 (1101–1102)
Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會 (805–881)
Jiashan Ziling 夾山自齡 (d.u.)
Jiatai [era] 嘉泰 (1201–1205)
Jiayou [era] 嘉祐 (1056–1064)
Jin 金 (1115–1234)
Jing 靜 (d. u.)
Jingde 景德 [era] (1004–1008)
Jingshan 徑山
Jingshan Faqin 徑山法欽 (714–792)
Jingxuan See Dayang Jingxuan
Jingyan 警延 See Dayang Jingxuan
Jingyan Shousui 淨嚴守遂 (1072–1147)
Jingyin Zijue 淨因自覺 (d. 1117)
Jiufeng Daoqian 九峰道虔 (d. 921)
Jiufeng Puman 九峰普滿 (a.k.a. Jiufeng Tongxuan?; 834?–896)
Jiufeng Tongxuan 九峰通玄 See Jiufeng Puman
Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081)
Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128)
Juemengtang 覺夢堂 (d.u.)
Keqin See Yuanwu Keqin
Kumu Facheng 枯木法成 (1071–1128)
Laoan 老安 (a.k.a. Huian, d. 708)
Letan 泐潭
Liangjie See Dongshan Liangjie
Liangshan Yuanguan 梁山緣觀 (d.u.)
Liaopai See Wuji Liaopai
Liaotang Siche 了堂思徹 (d.u.)
Li Chongyuan 李沖元 (d.u.)
Li Gang 李綱 (1083–1140)
Li Gongkuo 李公擴 (d.u.)
Li Gou 李覯 (1009–1059)
Lin'an 臨安
Lingfeng 靈峰
Lingyan Chongan 靈巖仲安 (d.u.)
Lingyin 靈隱
Lingyuan (Huanglong) Weiqing 靈源(黄龍)惟清 (d. 1117)
Linji 臨濟 (also 林際)
Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866)
Liu Fengshi 劉奉世 (1041–1113)
Liu Qi 劉跂 (d.u.)

Liu Zihui 劉子翬 (1101–1147)
Liu Ziyu 劉子羽 (1097–1146)
Li Xiaoshou 李孝壽 (d.u.)
Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166–1243)
Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988–1038)
Longan 龍安
Longmen 龍門
Longxiang 龍翔
Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (853–923)
Lu 廬
Lumen Fadeng 鹿門法燈 (1075–1127)
Lumen Zhenghe 鹿門政和
Lushan 山廬
Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210)
Ma Duanlin 馬端林 (ca. 1250–1325)
Mahākāśyapa (Mohejiaye 摩訶迦葉 or Jiashebo 迦葉波; d.u.)
Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788)
Mengtang Tan'e 夢堂曇噩 (1285–1373)
Mengzi 孟子 (ca. 372–289 BCE)
Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683–1769)
Miaodao Dingguang 妙道定光 (d.u.)
Miaohui Huiguang 妙慧慧光 (d.u.)
Miaoxi 妙喜 See Dahui Zonggao
Ming 明 (1368–1644)
Ming'an 明安 See Dayang Jingxuan
Mingzhou 明州
Muan Shanqing 睦庵善卿 (active 1088–1108)
Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835)
Nanshan Daoxuan 南山道宣 (596–667)
Nan Song 南宋 (Southern Song; 1127–1279)
Nan Tang 南唐 (Southern Tang; 937–975)
Nanyang Huichong 南陽慧忠 (d. 775)
Nanyue 南岳
Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744)
Nanyue Yuanyi 南岳元益 (d.u.)
Nengren 能仁
Ningbo 寧波
Niutou 牛頭
Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 (1007–1072)
Ping 平 (d.u.)
Pingshi Rudi 平石如砥 (d.u.)
Puji 普寂 (651–739)
Puli 普利
Putian 莆田
Puxian Biao 普賢標 (d.u.)
Puzhao 普照
Qianfu Chenggu 薦福承古 (d. 1145)
Qian Jiyi 錢計議 (a.k.a. Zixu; d.u.)
Qing 清 (1644–1911)
Qingdan 慶旦 (d.u.)
Qingliang Taiqin 清涼泰欽 (d.u.)
Qingliao See Zhenxie Qingliao
Qin Gui 秦檜 (d. 1155)
Qingyu See Huizhao Qingyu
Qingyuan [era] 慶元 (1195–1201)
Qingyuan Xingsi 清原行思 (d. 740)
Qingzhong Fanyan 淨眾梵言 (d.u.)
Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–1127)
Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072)
Quanzhou 泉州
Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063)
Rinzai 臨濟
Rong Ni 榮嶷 (active 1162)
Ruilong Youzhang 瑞龍幼璋 (831–927)
Śākyamuni (Shijiamouni 釋迦牟尼)
Sengcan 僧璨 (d.u.)
Shanxin 善心 See Ciren Lingji
Shao Baiwen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134)
Shaolin 少林
Shaoxing [era] 紹興 (1131–1163)
Shaoyang 韶陽
Shenhui 神會 (684–758)
Shenxiao 神霄
Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706)
Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085)
Shifang Jingyin chanyuan 十方淨因禪院
Shimen Huiche 石門慧徹 (d.u.)
Shimen Xian 石門獻 (d.u.)
Shimen Yuanyi 石門元易 (1053–1137)
Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233)
Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (986–1039)
Shishuang Qingzhu 石霜慶諸 (807–888)

Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790)
Shizong 世宗 (r. 954–959)
Shouquan See Fengshan Shouquan
Shousui See Jingyan Shousui
Shuzhou 舒州
Sihui Miaozhan 思慧妙湛 (1071–1145)
Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028)
Sizhou 泗州
Sizong See Wenan Sizong
Song 宋 (960–1279)
Songshan 嵩山
Sōtō 曹洞
Sui 隋 (581–618)
Suizhou 隨州
Suizhou Hongshan 隨州洪山 (d.u)
Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)
Taiping Xingguo 太平興國
Taizhou 台州
Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997)
Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976)
Tang 唐 (618–907)
Tanji Hongren 潭吉弘忍 (1599–1638)
Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟 (748–807)
Tianning Wanshou 天寧萬壽
Tianqing 天慶
Tiantai 天台
Tiantai Deshao 天台德韶 (891–972)
Tiantong 天童
Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 (1162–1227)
Tiantong Xin 天童新 (d.u.)
Tianwang Daowu 天王道悟 (738–819)
Tianxi [era] 天禧 (1017–1022)
Tongan 同安
Tongan Daopi 同安道丕 (a.k.a. Xian Tongan Pi; d.u.)
Tongan Guanzhi 同安觀志 (a.k.a. Zhong Tongan Zhi; d.u.)
Tongan Wei 同安威 (d.u.)
Tongfa 通法 (1082–1140)
Touzi 投子
Touzi Datong 投子大同 (819–914)
Touzi Qing Huayan 投子青華嚴 See Touzi Yiqing
Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 (a.k.a. Touzi Qing Huayan; 1032–1083)
Wan'an Daoyan 萬奄道顏 (a.k.a. Donglin Daoyan; 1094–1164)
Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086)
Wang Bin 王彬 (d.u.)
Wang Boxiang 王伯庠 (1106–1173)
Wang Guan 王琯 (d.u.)
Wang Shu 王曙 (963–1043)
Wang Songnian 王松年 (d.u.)
Wang Wei 王維 (700–761)
Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166–1246)
Wei 韋 (1080–1159)
Weibai See Foguo Weibai
Weiwu 威武
Weixian 惟顯 (d.u.)
Weiyi 惟益 (d.u.).
Weiyin wang 威音王
Weizhao See Chanti Weizhao
Wenan Sizong 聞庵嗣宗 (1085–1153)
Wudai 五代 (907–960)
Wuji Fahe 無跡法和 (1097–1157)
Wuji Liaopai 無際了派 (1149–1224)
Wuwai Yiyuan 無外義遠 (active first half of thirteenth cen.)
Wu Weiming 吳偉明 (d.u.)
Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 684–705)
Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?–1104)
Xian Dongan 先洞安 (d.u.)
Xiangguo 相國
Xiangyang 襄陽
Xiangyun Tanyi 祥雲曇懿 (d.u.)
Xiang Zijin 向子諲 (1086–1153 or 1085–1152)
Xianju 仙居
Xian Tongan Pi 先同安丕 See Tongan Daopai
Xiaoyu 小玉
Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–1189)
Xinghua 興化
Xiuchan si 修禪寺
Xiyan Liaohui 西巖了慧 (1198–1262)
Xizhou 隰州
Xuanzhou 宣州
Xuedou 雪竇
Xuedou Chi 雪竇持 (d.u.)

Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052)
Xuefeng 雪峰
Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908)
Xueyan Zuqin 雪巖祖欽 (1216–1287)
Xuyun 虛雲 (1840–1959)
Yan 延 See Dayang Jingxuan
Yang 陽
Yangguang 羊廣 or 楊廣
Yang Jie 楊傑 (d.u.)
Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992–1049)
Yangqi *pai* 楊岐派
Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135)
Yang Yi 楊億 (968–1020)
Yangyu 洋齬
Yanqing 延慶
Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (745–828 or 751–834)
Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (968–1020)
Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148)
Yetang Puchong 野堂普崇 (d.u.)
Yin 音 (d.u.)
Ying'an Tanhua 應菴曇華 (1103–1163)
Yingtian 應天
Yingzhou 郢洲
Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063–1067)
Yiqing see Touzi Yiqing
Yiwen 異聞 (d.u.)
Yongan Daoyuan 永安道原 (d.u.)
Yuan 元 (1279–1368)
Yuan Cai 袁采 (ca. 1140–1190)
Yuanchong 元沖
Yuanfeng [era] 元豐 (1078–1086)
Yuanhe [era] 元和 (806–820)
Yuantong 圓通
Yuantong Faxiu 圓通法秀 See Fayun Faxiu
Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135)
Yuanzhao Zongben 圓照宗本 (1020–1100)
Yue Ke 岳珂 (b. 1183)
Yu Jing 余靖 (1000–1064)
Yun 筠 (d.u.)
Yungai 雲蓋
Yungai Shouzhi 雲蓋守智 (1025–1115)
Yunju 雲居
Yunju Daojian 雲居道簡 (d.u.)
Yunju Daoqi 雲居道齊 (929–997)
Yunju Daoying 雲居道膺 (d. 902)
Yunmen 雲門
Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949)
Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟 (ca. 780–841)
Yuquan 玉泉
Yuquan si 玉泉寺
Yuwang Dayuan Zunpu 育王大圓遵璞 (d.u.)
Zanning 贊寧 (920–1001)
Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083)
Zeng Kai 曾開 (d.u.)
Zhang Dunli 張敦禮 (d.u.)
Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (1092–1159)
Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164)
Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121)
Zhang Shou 張守 (1084–1145)
Zhang Yi 張繹 (active 1107)
Zhang Yuan 張淵 (d.u.)
Zhanran 湛然 (711–782)
Zhanran Yuanzhao 湛然元照 (1048–1116)
Zhantang Wenzhun 湛堂文準 (1061–1115)
Zhao Lingcheng 趙令峸 (d.u.)
Zhao Lingjin 趙令衿 (d. 1158)
Zhaoti 招提
Zhaoti Guangdeng Weizhan 招提廣燈惟湛 (d.u.)
Zhaoting Shengdeng 招慶省僜 (a.k.a. Zhaoting Wendeng; 884–972)
Zhaoting Wendeng 招慶文僜 See Zhaoting Shengdeng
Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897)
Zheng Ang 鄭昂 (b. 1071?)
Zhenghe [era] 政和 (1111–1118)
Zhenjing Kewen 真淨克文 (1025–1102)
Zhenru Daohui 真如道會 (d.u.)
Zhenxie Qingliao 真歇清了(a.k.a. Ji'an; 1088–1151)
Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022)

Zhili See Siming Zhili
Zhiping [era] 治平 (1064–1068)
Zhitong Jingshen 智通景深 (1090–1152)
Zhixi 智晞 (d.u.)
Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597)
Zhiyue 智越 (543–616)
Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323)
Zhong Tongan Zhi 中同安志 See Tongan Guanzhi
Zhongyun Zhihui 重雲智暉 (873–956)
Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705–710)
Zhou Kui 周葵 (1098–1174)
Zhou Xingji 周行己 (1067–1125?)
Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200)
Zhu Shiying 朱世英 See Zhu Yan
Zhu Yan 朱彥 (a.k.a. Zhu Shiying; *jinshi* degree 1076)
Zicang 子蒼 See Han Ju
Zichun See Danxia Zichun
Zijue See Jingyin Zijue
Zitong 梓潼
Zixu 子虛 See Qian Jiyi
Zizhou 淄州
Zongmi See Guifeng Zongmi
Zongyan 宗言 (d.u.)
Zongyue 宗月 (d.u.)
Zongze See Changlu Zongze
Zunpu See Yuwang Dayuan Zunpu
Zuzhao Daohe 祖照道和 (1057–1124)

Terms

an 庵
anzhu 庵主
benjue 本覺
biguan 壁觀
bu li wenzi (not establishing words) 不立文字
bu li wenzi (not separated from words) 不離文字
can 參
Chan 禪
chan ju 禪居
chanshi 禪師
chansi 禪寺
chanyuan 禪院
chu jia 出家
chushi 出世
conglin 叢林
dan 擔
daoxue 道學
dashi 大師
dasi weng 大死翁
dawu 大悟
de 德
deng 等
denglu 燈錄
diaoju 掉舉
ding (meditation) 定
ding (vessel) 鼎
dingxiang 頂相 (or 像)
dudi 度弟
dudizi 度弟子
e 額
fasishu 法嗣書
fayu 法語
fei zushi yingzhi zhe 非祖師營置者
fensi 墳寺
fo 佛
foxing 佛性
fusi 副寺
gong 宮
gongan 公案
gongde si 功德寺
gongfu 工夫
gozan 五山
guan 觀
guze 古則
heshang 和尚
huatou 話頭
huhun 戶婚
hui 慧
hunchen 昏沈
ji 寂
jia 家
jiang 講

jiao 教
jiayi 甲乙
jiayi jiaoyuan 甲乙教院
jimo 寂默
jing (scripture) 經
jing (quietude) 靜
jingzuo 靜坐
jin wu zi ye 今吾子也
jiyuan wenda 機緣問答
ju (possess) 具
ju (raise) 舉
kaitang 開堂
kan 看
kanhua 看話
kanhua Chan 看話禪
kongqie yiqian 空劫已前
ku 枯
kuoche mingbai 廓徹明白
lengzuo 冷坐
lü 律
luochu 落處
miao 妙
mo 默
mo er chang zhao 默而常照
momo xiangying 默默相應
moqi 默契
mozhao chan 默照禪
mozhao xie chan 默照邪禪
nian 拈
niangu 拈古
nisi 尼寺
pushuo 普說
Puti hui 菩提會
qian lü 前旅
qin 親
qin you qizheng 親有契證
quqie 胠篋
rulaizang 如來藏
sangang 三綱
sanmei 三昧
sanxuan 三玄
shami 沙彌
shangzuo 上座
shan zhishi 善知識
shenxian 神仙
shi (master) 師
shi (truly) 實
shi (know) 識
shi (vow) 誓
shidafu 士大夫
shifang 十方
shifang chanyuan 十方禪院
shijue 始覺
shixiong 師兄
shouzuo 首座
shu 叔
si 寺
sifashu 嗣法書
sishu 嗣書
sizhu 寺主
Sŏn 禪
songgu 頌古
sui 歲
taming 塔銘
tudi 徒弟
waidao wen Fo 外道問佛
wangyuan 忘緣
weifa 未發
wei momo er zi zhao 唯默默而自照
weina 維那
Weiyin *nabian* 威音那畔
wu (enlightenment) 悟
wu (no, do not have) 無
wujia 五家
wujia qizong 五家七宗
wuwei 五位
wuzong 五宗
xiancheng mifan 現成粥飯
xingzhuang 行狀
xiujian shuilu fahui 修建水陸法會
xu 虛
xu er ling, ji er zhao 虛而靈寂而照
xu er zhi, ji er zhao 虛而知寂而照
xu rushi 許入室
yi 意
yinke 印可
yuan 院
yulu 語錄
zangzhu 藏主
Zen 禪

zhao 照
zheng 證
zhengchu 證處
zhengfa yanzang 正法眼藏
zheng yuanjue 證圓覺
zhengzong 正宗
zhi 智
zhiguan 止觀
zhuanyu 轉語
zong 宗
zu 祖
zuo (a seat) 座
zuo (to sit) 坐
zushi 祖師

Titles (with translations)

"Banyang ji xu" 般陽集序 Preface to the Banyang collection
"Baojing sanmei" 寶鏡三昧 Jewel mirror samādhi
Bian xiezheng shuo 辨邪正說 Exposition on discerning the heterodox and orthodox
Bian zhengxie shuo 辨正邪說 Exposition on discerning the orthodox and heterodox
"Cantongqi" 參同契 Harmony of difference and sameness
Caodong guanglu 曹洞廣錄 Expanded record of the Caodong
Caodong zongpai 曹洞宗派 Caodong lineages
Caodong zongpai lu 曹洞宗派錄 Record of the Caodong lineages
"Chishi Hongzhi chanshi houlu xu" 敕諡宏智禪師後錄序 Preface to the later record of the Chan master with the imperially bestowed name Hongzhi
"Chishi Hongzhi chanshi xingye ji" 敕諡宏智禪師行業記 Record of the activities of the Chan master with the imperially bestowed name Hongzhi
"Chongxian Zhenxie Liao chanshi taming" 崇先真歇了禪師塔銘 Funerary inscription for Chan master Zhenxie Liao of Chongxian
"Dahongshan Chongning Baoshou chanyuan di shiyi dai zhuchi zhuanfa Juezhao Huikong Fozhi Mingwu dashi taming" 大洪山崇寧保壽禪院第十一代住持傳法覺照惠空佛智明悟大師塔銘 Funerary inscription for the great master Juezhao Huikong Fozhi Mingwu, who transmitted the dharma as the eleventh-generation abbot at the Chongning Baoshou Chan monastery at Mount Dahong
"Da Song Suizhou Dahongshan Lingfeng chansi ji" 大宋隨州大洪山靈峰禪寺記 Record of the Lingfeng monastery at Mount Dahong in Suizhou under the Great Song
Dayang Ming'an chanshi gulu 大陽明安禪師古錄 Old record of Chan master Ming'an of Dayang
"Dingzhao chanshi xu" 定照禪師序 Appreciation of Chan master Dingzhao [Daokai]
"Furong Kai chanshi yu" 芙蓉楷禪師語 Sayings of Chan master Kai of Furong
"Fuyan chanyuan ji" 福嚴禪院記 Record of the Fuyan Chan monastery
Hōkyōki 寶慶記 Record of the Baoqing era [1225–1228]
"Hongzhi chanshi Miaoguang taming" 宏智禪師妙光塔銘 Funerary inscription for Chan master Hongzhi [with the stūpa name] Miaoguang
Jiewai lu 劫外錄 Record of [being] outside the eon
"Jingyan chansi ji" 精嚴禪寺記 Record of the Jingyan Chan monastery

"Jingyan heshang taji" 淨嚴和尚塔記 Funerary record of the venerable Jingyan
Loufa shoujie yiwen 落髮受戒儀文 Ceremonies for taking the tonsure and receiving the precepts
"Lumen Deng chanshi taming" 鹿門燈禪師塔銘 Funerary inscription for Chan master Deng of Lumen
"Mozhao ming" 默照銘 Inscription on silent illumination
"Neng chanshi bei" 能禪師碑 Epitaph for Chan master Neng
Qingming shanghe tu 清明上河图 Peace reigns over the river; or, Up the river on the spring festival
"Rudao anxinyao fangbian famen" 入道安心要方便法門 Essential teaching of the expedient means of pacifying the mind and entering the path
San Tendai Godai san ki 参天台五臺山記 Record of a pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai mountains
"Sengtang ji" 僧堂記 Record of the monks' hall
"Shaolin chansi Xitang laoshi Fahe taming" 少林禪寺西堂老師法和塔銘 Funerary inscription for the venerable master Fahe of the Western Hall at Shaolin Chan monastery
"Shaozhou Yuehuashan Huajiesi chuanfa zhuchi ji" 韶州月華山花界寺傳法住持記 Record of the transmission of the dharma and abbacy at Huaji monastery at Mount Yuehua in Shaozhou
Shōbōgenzō 正法眼藏 Eye storehouse of the true dharma
Shou putixin jiewen 授菩提心戒文 Receiving the Bodhicitta precepts
Sijia lu 四家錄 Record of four masters
"Suizhou Dahong En chanshi taming" 隨州大洪恩禪師塔銘 Funerary inscription for Chan master En from Dahong in Suizhou
"Suizhou Dahongshan Chongning Baoshou chanyuan shifang dierdai Kai chanshi taming" 隨州大洪山崇寧保壽禪院十方第二代楷禪師塔銘 Funerary inscription for the Chan master Kai, who was the second-generation abbot at the public Chan monastery Chongning Baoshou at Mount Dahong in Suizhou
"Suizhou Dahongshan diliudai zhuchi Huizhao chanshi taming" 隨州大洪山第六代主持慧照禪師塔銘 Funerary inscription for Chan master Huizhao, the sixth-generation abbot at Mount Dahong in Suizhou
"Suizhou Dahongshan shifang Chongning Baoshou chanyuan disidai zhuchi Chun chanshi taming bing xu" 隨州大洪山十方崇寧保壽禪院第四代住持淳禪師塔銘并序 Funerary inscription with preface on Chan master Chun, the fourth-generation abbot of the public Chongning Baoshou Chan monastery at Mount Dahong in Suizhou
Wujia zongpai 五家宗派 The lineages of the five traditions
Xiuxin yaolun 修心要論 Essential treatise on the cultivation of mind
Xu baolin zhuan 續寶林傳 Continued biographies from the treasure groves [of Chan]
Yiqing xingzhuang 義青行狀 Biography of Yiqing
Yizhang lu 一掌錄 Record of [the slap of] one hand
Yuanjue jing 圓覺經 Perfect enlightenment Sūtra
"Yunzhou Dongshan Puli chanyuan chuanfa ji" 筠州洞山普利禪院傳法記 A

record of the transmission of the dharma at Puli Chan monastery at Mount Dong in Yun prefecture
Zaijia xingyi 在家行儀 Deportment for laypeople
Zazhi 雜志 Miscellaneous records
Zengji Danxia Chun chanshi yulu 增輯丹霞淳禪師語錄 Additions to the recorded sayings of Chan master Chun of Danxia
"Zhendingfu shifang Dinglin chanyuan disidai chuanfa zhuchi cizi Tongfa dahi taming" 真定府十方定林禪院第四代傳法主持賜紫通法大師塔銘 Funerary inscription for the great master Tongfa, who was bestowed a purple [robe] by the emperor and who transmitted the dharma as the fourth-generation abbot at the public Dinglin Chan monastery in Zhending *fu*
Zhengxie lun 弁邪論 Discussion of the orthodox and heterodox
"Zhongxiao song ji" 忠孝松記 Record of the pine tree of loyalty and filiality
"Zuochan zhen" 坐禪箴 Exhortation to sitting meditation

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